



“Brand Antarctica: Selling Representations of the South from the ‘Heroic Era’ to the Present”

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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September 2017

Declaration of Originality

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of my knowledge and belief no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis, nor does the thesis contain any material that infringes copyright.

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Statement Regarding Published Work Contained in Thesis

Research for this thesis has also been presented in several publications. Small amounts of the material in this thesis are similar to sections of those publications. Where material overlaps with published material, I have indicated this through citation. Relevant publications are detailed below:

Nielsen, Hanne E.F. "Hoofprints in Antarctica: Byrd, Media, and the Golden Guernseys." *The Polar Journal*. 6 no. 2 (December 2016): 342-357.

Candidate was the sole author. This paper elaborates on Case Study Two in Chapter 2 (Antarctic Cows solve "The Milk Problem"). It draws upon similar contextual information relating to Richard Byrd's Antarctic expeditions, and details the full story of his Golden Guernseys in Antarctica. Where I have drawn on ideas from the paper in this thesis, this is indicated through citation.

Nielsen, Hanne. "Selling the South: Commercialisation and Marketing of Antarctica." In *Handbook on the Politics of Antarctic*. Edited by Klaus Dodds, Alan Hemmings, and Peder Roberts, 183-198. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2017.

Candidate was the sole author. This chapter details the resources that have been taken from Antarctica (both material and imaginary) and contextualises the continent within commercial history. It presents an abridged version of the argument presented in this thesis. Ideas present in the publication are drawn upon in the thesis Introduction ("Supermarket of the South"); Chapter 1 ("Selling the Story"); Chapter 3 ("Spirit of a Nation"); Chapter 4 ("Volkswagen Beetle"); Chapter 5 ("Beneath the Surface" "Blackmores EcoKrill"); Chapter 7 ("Antarctic Tourism"); and the Conclusion. Where I have drawn on ideas from the paper in this thesis, this is indicated through citation.

Leane, Elizabeth and Hanne E.F. Nielsen. "American Cows in Antarctica: Richard Byrd's Polar Dairy as Symbolic Settler Colonialism." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*. 18 no. 2 (Summer 2017): Project MUSE, doi:10.1353/cch.2017.0024

This paper covers similar ground to "Hoofprints in Antarctica," and to Case Study Two in Chapter 2 (Antarctic Cows solve "The Milk Problem"), but was written separately. My archival research provided the basis for this paper, and I contributed 50% as an author. Where I have drawn on ideas from the paper in this thesis, this is indicated through citation.

We the undersigned agree with the above stated "proportion of work undertaken" for each of the above published peer-reviewed manuscripts contributing to this thesis:

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors Associate Professor Elizabeth Leane, Dr Nicolás Goc, and Dr Julia Jabour for providing expert literary, media studies and Antarctic input into this project, and helping me to see Antarctica from new angles. I am particularly indebted to Elle – she has offered guidance throughout my Masters and PhD, and generously helped me fledge into a researcher capable of making my own forays into the unknown.

This PhD project was made possible with the support of an Elite Australian Postgraduate Award Scholarship, awarded in association with Dr Leane's Australian Research Council funded future fellowship on "Integrating the Humanities into Antarctic Studies." I am also grateful for support from the SCAR Humanities and Social Sciences Expert Group; Antarctic Science Ltd; the American Geographical Society at the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee; the UTAS Environment Research Group; and the Multi-disciplinary Environment Research Group at UTAS that allowed me to travel to conferences and archives over the course of my candidature. A big thank you goes to Steve Christenson and Cheryl Rugg for hosting me in Milwaukee and showing me the best of the dairyland, and to Adrian Howkins for bringing the McColl Research Fellowship to my attention.

Colleagues at the UTAS English Department, the Institute for Marine and Antarctic Studies (IMAS), and at the University of Canterbury's Gateway Antarctica, where I was hosted as an Adjunct in 2014, have shown me that lunchtime conversations really can lead to epiphanies. Discussions with colleagues from the SCAR Humanities and Social Sciences Expert Group and the Association of Polar Early Career Scientists (APECS) have also enriched my thinking, while those with Dr Renuka Badhe and Dr Hannah Stark have made the future seem a less scary place. I am indebted to many others for comments, links to media articles, and photographs of Antarctic advertisements that have subsequently turned into fruitful lines of enquiry.

My postgraduate peers have been a constant source of support, both academically and in “real life.” Members of the IMAS Writing Group; the Red Pen Bandits; the English Theory Reading Group; the UTAS People and Environment Research Group; the twitter Shut Up & Write Tuesdays community (@SUWTues); Gabriela Roldan; and Indi Hodgson-Johnson have offered comments, cake, and encouragement. Special thanks go to Dr Robyn Greaves, Rose Walker, and Miranda Nieboer for their insightful feedback on drafts.

To Mum and Dad, Grandma and Grandad, and Mormor and Morfar: thank you for all the stories, scintillating conversations, and teaching me to aim high. Finally, a huge thank you to man and dog – Stephen and Mya – for waving me off to Antarctica, and warming the house on my return. I could not have come this far without you.

Hanne Elliot Fønss Nielsen

Hobart, Tasmania

12 September 2017

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
<i>Part I: Exploration, Narrative, and Sponsorship</i>	
Chapter 1 – Selling the Story: Media, Sponsorship and Exploration	42
Chapter 2 – Byrd’s “Hero Business” in a Technological Age	76
<i>Part II: Framing Antarctica</i>	
Chapter 3 – Heroic Antarctica	115
Chapter 4 – Extreme Antarctica	160
Chapter 5 – Pure Antarctica	201
Chapter 6 – Fragile Antarctica	235
<i>Part III: Views from the South</i>	
Chapter 7 – A Place for Travel and Transformation	278
Conclusion – Brand Antarctica, Past, Present and Future	320

List of Illustrations

Figure 1.1: Close-up of Antarctic map, showing commercial place names – 1969

Figure 1.2: The famous (apocryphal) recruitment advertisement for Shackleton's second Antarctic expedition, as it appears on a T-Shirt – 2012

Figure 1.3: Victorian advertisement for "Antarctic" brand whalebone – 1897

Figure 2.1 Borchgrevink's article about Antarctica, published prior to his Southern Cross Expedition, as it appeared in The Strand Magazine – 1897

Figure 2.2: Advertisement for the Singer sewing machine as it appeared in The Strand Magazine – 1913

Figure 2.3: Advertisement for His Master's Voice as it appeared in The Strand Magazine – 1913

Figure 2.4: Frederick Hooper posed with Heinz Baked Beans during the Terra Nova expedition – 1911

Figure 2.5: Ballantynes advertisement from March – 1909

Figure 3.1: Nason's Cod Liver Oil advertisement with Antarctic photographs – 1935

Figure 3.2: Grape Nuts official map of Byrd's second Antarctic expedition – 1934

Figure 3.3: General Foods advertisement featuring Little America – 1935

Figure 3.4: Double page Horlicks advertising spread – 1935

Figure 3.5: Double page Horlicks advertising spread – 1935

Figure 3.6: Klondike Gay Nira, Deerfoot Guernsey Maid, and Foremost Southern Girl on board the S.S. Jacob Ruppert – 1933

Figure 3.7: Deerfoot Guernsey Maid starred in a Larro promotional booklet, along with a sack of branded feed – 1934

Figure 3.8: Cow Barn floor plan for the James Manufacturing Company – 1933

Figure 3.9: Lantern slide of the cows' homecoming – 1935

Figure 3.10: Map with names of fictional expedition sponsors inscribed on landscape – Bird Life at the Pole – 1931

Figure 3.11: Illustration from Gibbs' novel with crew posed against a painted polar backdrop – Bird Life at the Pole – 1931

Figure 3.12: Illustration from Gibb's novel satirizing the posed nature of expedition photography – Bird Life at the Pole – 1931

Figure 4.1: Still image from television commercial for Geico Insurance – 2015

Figure 4.2: Bovril advertisement with Shackleton's endorsement – 1914

Figure 4.3: Bovril advertisement – 1956/7

Figure 4.4: "Huntley & Palmers Polar Biscuits" advertisement – 1912

Figure 4.5: Detail of Huntley & Palmers biscuit packet – 2013

Figure 4.6: Mawson's party feature in a Yalumba port advertisement – 1930

Figure 4.7: "Mawson's Far Eastern Party" label – 2010

Figure 4.8: Glenfiddich whisky advertisement relating to the "Walking with the Wounded" expedition – 2013

Figure 4.9: Poster relating to the Glenfiddich sponsored "Walking with the Wounded" Antarctic team – 2013

Figure 4.10: Advertising poster for the Shackleton Banjo – 2014

Figure 4.11: Web image from The Shackleton Company: "What Would Shackleton Do?" – 2014

Figure 4.12: "Shackleton Plan" move to Detroit advertising pitch – 2009

Figure 5.1: Chairlift advertisement for Resene's "Extreme Paint" Mt Hutt Skifield, New Zealand – 2014

Figure 5.2: Antarctica overlaid with territorial claims, by Lokal_Profil

Figure 5.3: Byrd endorsement for Veedol – 1933

Figure 5.4: Visco-Static Motor Oil advertisement – 1956

Figure 5.5: Advertisement announcing Volkswagen as "The first car at the bottom of the world" – 1965

Figure 5.6: Advertisement labelling Volkswagen "The first car in Antarctica" – 1967

Figure 5.7: US version of Volkswagen advertisement announcing the car as being "First on the bottom!"

Figure 5.8: Croton Nevada Grenchen watch “that went to the Antarctic” – 1957

Figure 5.9: Rolex “Where to spend the worst winter in the world” – 1987

Figure 5.10: Homasote advertisement – 1935

Figure 5.11: Holland’s advertisement – 2015

Figure 5.12: Earth Sea Sky banner – 2014

Figure 5.13: Earth Sea Sky banner – 2014

Figure 5.14: North Face “Conquer the Unknown” advertisement – 2013

Figure 5.15: “Wilkes Station” Pentothal Postcard (front) – 1961

Figure 5.16: Pentothal Postcard (back) with message – 1961

Figure 5.17: Metallica banner including Coca-Cola Zero Logo – 2013

Figure 5.18: “The only continent Alitalia doesn’t fly to” – 1965

Figure 5.19: Pan Am advertisement featuring Antarctica as an absence – 1975

Figure 5.20: Ray-Ban advertisement for sunglasses tested in the Antarctic – 1959

Figure 6.1: “Pure Antarctic Air” homepage – 2016

Figure 6.2: Photograph of soap supplies being loaded onto Byrd’s vessel – 1935

Figure 6.3: Oakite advertisement – 1935

Figure 6.4: Lux advertisement featuring dishwashing and a bath – 1935

Figure 6.5: Drive advertisement featuring icebergs – 1999

Figure 6.6: Godet Antarctica Icy White, product homepage – 2017

Figure 6.7: Süd Polaire advertisement – 2016

Figure 6.8: Antarctic Nail Ale Bottle label – 2010

Figure 6.9: Product promotion for Antarctilyne – 2005

Figure 6.10: Blackmores Krill Oil Campaign elements, as highlighted by Xander Creative – 2012

Figure 6.11: Blackmores Krill Oil Campaign elements, as highlighted by Xander Creative – 2012

Figure 7.1: Collapse of the Larsen B Ice Shelf – 2002

Figure 7.2: Double page Humble advertisement with Arctic Taku Glacier – 1962

Figure 7.3: Panasonic NR-B30FG1-WB Refrigerator User Manual – 2009

Figure 7.4: Panasonic poster featuring fridge and glacial imagery – 2009

Figure 7.5: WWF “Help Save the Fridge” advertisement – 2011

Figure 7.6: ABB advertisement featuring penguins – 2005

Figure 7.7: Westpac advertisement to coincide with The Equator Principles – 2003

Figure 7.8: Penguin advertisement relating to CFC-free aerosols – 1988/1989

Figure 7.9: Diesel “Global Warming Ready” advertisement with penguins – 2007

Figure 7.10: Borders Perrin Norrander Poster: “Don’t Vote” – 2008

Figure 8.1: Still from an episode of Last Week Tonight with John Oliver – 2014

Figure 8.2: Chimu Adventures advertisement for the “last frontier” – 2015

Figure 8.3: Lindblad / National Geographic Antarctic tourism brochure – 2014

*Figure 8.4: The Antarctic Marathon: Adidas Supernova Cushion advertisement by
180 Amsterdam – 2004*

Figure 8.5: Banner image from Fathom Expeditions website – 2017

Figure 8.7: Installation advertisement for Student travel agency KILROY – 2006

Figure 8.8: Shackleton Foundation Website Banner Image – 2017

Figure 8.9: Banner from the Grape-Nuts Facebook page, 31 Dec – 2014

Figure 8.10: Banner from the Grape-Nuts Facebook page, 15 Nov – 2014

Figure 8.11: PinKtarctica Voyage Advertisement – 2015

Figure 8.12: “Picture yourself here?” AAD recruitment advertisement – 2017

Figure 8.13: BAS “Field Assistants” recruitment advertisement – 2010

Acronyms

AAD	Australian Antarctic Division
ALE	Antarctic Logistics and Expeditions
ANI	Adventure Network International
ASMA	Antarctic Specially Managed Area
ASOC	Antarctic and Southern Ocean Coalition
ASPA	Antarctic Specially Protected Area
ATCM	Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting
ATS	Antarctic Treaty System
BAS	British Antarctic Survey
CCAMLR	Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources
CCAS	Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Seals
CEP	Committee for Environmental Protection
COMNAP	Council of Managers of National Antarctic Programs
CRAMRA	Convention on the Regulation of Antarctic Mineral Resource Activities
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
HASSEG	Humanities and Social Sciences Expert Group
IAATO	International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators
IGY	International Geophysical Year
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPTRN	International Polar Tourism Research Network
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
RACT	Royal Automobile Club of Tasmania
SCAR	Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
USAP	United States Antarctic Program
WHO	World Health Organisation
WWF	World Wildlife Foundation

Abstract

Antarctica is a powerful symbol that has been put to use for a range of commercial ends. This thesis analyses advertisements and related cultural products in order to identify common framings that have emerged in representations of Antarctica from the late nineteenth century to the present. It provides the historical, social, cultural and geographic context for understanding the ways the south has been used to sell products, as well as stories, experiences and ideas.

Previous scholars have examined books, films, photography, music and theatre to explore attitudes towards Antarctica, but forms of cultural production explicitly associated with commerce have so far been overlooked – perhaps because of the exceptionalist view of the continent as disassociated from capitalism and the market. However, from the early whalers and sealers who headed south for their hunt, to modern-day brands that sponsor extreme expeditions in exchange for naming rights, trade interests have never been far from the ice. Analysing how those interests are conveyed to a mass market back home, via the media, provides useful insights into the ways Antarctica has been framed, imagined and valued at various points in time. As an interdisciplinary work, this thesis draws variously on approaches and scholarship from media studies, literary studies, cultural history, and cultural geography. A series of dominant ways of culturally framing Antarctica are identified and explored through close readings of advertising images and related cultural products. Examples are drawn from a database of around 500 English-language advertisements that feature Antarctica (included in an appendix). Advertisements were published in newspapers, magazines, and online sources, and located through archival and online searching. Drawing on a wide range of sources, the thesis contextualizes these commercial cultural products within media and Antarctic history.

The first of the three sections in this thesis exposes the parallels between the development of the modern media industry and land-based Antarctic exploration. Using the “Heroic Era” of exploration (1895-1922) and Admiral Richard Byrd’s second Antarctic expedition (1933-35) as case studies, it highlights the interplay between media, commerce, and expeditions. The intricacies of expedition sponsorship and product placement are addressed, as is as the production of Antarctic narratives. Drawing on this historical contextualization, the second section provides insight into how the developing media drew upon particular framings of Antarctica to sell a range of products. A series of case studies is used to argue that Antarctica has been presented variously as a place for heroes, a place of extremes, a place of purity, and a place that is fragile – frames that overlap with each other and evolve historically. The final section considers Antarctica as a travel destination, and outlines the ways the continent has been used – both physically and metaphorically – as a place of transformation.

By identifying and examining the cultural frames through which Antarctica has been viewed, and tracking how values and priorities towards the continent have changed over time, this thesis makes an innovative contribution to the emerging field of Humanities-based Antarctic Studies.

Brand Antarctica: Selling Representations of the South from the “Heroic Era” to the Present

Introduction

Tracing your finger over a detailed map of Antarctica – the supposed ‘last wilderness’ and emptiest place on Earth – can be an unsettling experience. At the continent’s coast, you come across Mobiloil Inlet, named by Sir Hubert Wilkins in 1928 after the Vacuum Oil Company of Australia.¹ Further inland the Horlick Mountains,² the Ford Range³ and the Rockefeller Mountains⁴ are all reminders of Admiral Richard Byrd’s Antarctic expeditions. Other names are more obscure, yet they act as the key to a rich and storied past: Sulzberger Bay (Figure 1.1) commemorates the publisher of the *New York Times*,⁵ Newnes Land refers to the British media baron Sir George Newnes,⁶ while Hearst Land was named in honour of Newnes’s American rival, William Randolph Hearst.⁷ Such media sponsors played an important role in financing early Antarctic expeditions, and modern maps do not let this be forgotten: the commercial history of the south is inscribed on the cartographical icescape,⁸ where Antarctic place names act as “shorthand for its history.”⁹ These names not only “map out the human history of Antarctica,” they also leave “memories of past commercial interests and expeditions embedded in the ice for future generations to excavate.”¹⁰

¹ SCAR Composite Gazetteer. ID: 128998.

² Ibid., ID: 1266989. The Horlick Mountains were named in 1924 after William Horlick from the Horlick’s Malted Milk Corp.

³ Ibid., ID: 4809 Named by Byrd in 1929 after Edsel Ford of the Ford Motor Co, one of his expedition sponsors.

⁴ Ibid., ID: 12267. Named by Byrd in 1929 after John D Rockefeller Junior, expedition patron.

⁵ SCAR Composite Gazetteer. ID: 132329. Sulzberger Bay was named by Byrd in 1929 – the *New York Times* was a supporter of his expedition.

⁶ Borchgrevink, *First on the Antarctic Continent*, 319. Borchgrevink’s expedition was supported by Newnes – see Chapter 1.

⁷ SCAR Composite Gazetteer. ID: 126344. Hearst Land was named by Wilkins after his sponsor, and is now known as Wilkins Island.

⁸ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 190.

⁹ Fox and Bazeley, “Naming the Unnamed.”

¹⁰ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 190.

Today, new Antarctic place names must be approved by national Naming Committees before they can officially enter into circulation.¹¹ Most committee guidelines exclude commercial names from consideration,¹² but the commercial roots of many historical place names remain evident. Machinery that has been used in Antarctica has acted as the namesake for mountains and glaciers, such as the Arrol Icefall¹³ (named after Shackleton's Arrol Johnston motor car); Mount Tucker (named for the Tucker Sno-cat Corporation of Medford, Oregon, creators of the vehicles used in the *Trans Antarctic Expedition* of 1957-58);¹⁴ and the Bombardier and Havilland Glaciers (named for the manufacturer responsible for making the tracked Sno-Cat and skidoo vehicles and for the de Havilland Twin Otter, "the workhorse of Antarctic aviation,"¹⁵ respectively). More recently, the generically named Sponsors Peak, located between Barwick Valley and the Upper Victoria Glacier, was gazetted to honour the sponsors of the 1958-59 *Victoria University of Wellington Antarctic Expedition* (VUWAE).¹⁶ If "naming turns space into place,"¹⁷ it also ties geography to history; Lawrence Berg and Robin Kearns have argued "place-names are part of the social construction of space and the symbolic construction of meanings about place."¹⁸ In the Antarctic cases considered above, a physical link has become permanent, with the place names enduring long past the lifespan of the actual pistons and tracks. The brand names, which date to the mid-twentieth century when the last major Antarctic 'firsts' were being tackled, add an enduring layer to the commercial history of Antarctica. It is such a history – as showcased in print advertisements featuring the continent – that this thesis seeks to explore.

¹¹ Nielsen, "Selling the South," 190.

¹² The United States Board on Geographic Names will not consider "Names of contributors of funds, equipment, and supplies, who by the nature and tone of their advertising have endeavoured to capitalize or to gain some commercial advantage as a result of their donations" (The United States Board on Geographic Names), while the Australian Antarctic Names and Medals Policy requires those naming new features to "avoid names of pets and commercial products" (Australian Antarctic Division).

¹³ SCAR Composite Gazetteer. ID: 121937.

¹⁴ Ibid., ID: 111671.

¹⁵ Fox and Bazeley. "Naming the Unnamed."

¹⁶ SCAR Composite Gazetteer. ID: 114441.

¹⁷ Wells, *Land Matters*, 3.

¹⁸ Berg and Kearns, "Naming as Norming," 99.



*Figure 1.1: Close-up of a 1969 Antarctic map, held by the American Geographical Society Library (070 A-1969), showing commercial place names
(Photo Credit: Hanne Nielsen)*

This project analyses advertisements and related cultural products in order to identify common framings that have emerged in representations of Antarctica from the late nineteenth century to the present. It asks: how has Antarctica been used in advertising, and what does this tell us about human attitudes towards the continent? Drawing on examples from the 1890s through to the present day, each chapter provides the historical, social, cultural and geographic context for understanding the ways the south has been used to sell products, as well as stories, experiences and ideas. The thesis does not aim to make value judgments about what constitutes 'good' or 'bad' use of Antarctica and Antarctic imagery. Rather, it outlines the various commercial uses of the far south, in order to identify and analyse common themes that have emerged in popular Antarctic discourse. Two introductory chapters set the scene, outlining the early links between media and exploration, before five thematic chapters examine the recurrent Antarctic tropes of heroism, extremity, purity, fragility, and transformation in depth. Taken together, these chapters help reveal the various ways Antarctica has been imagined, valued, and understood, providing a

comprehensive analysis of how humans have conceptualised the ice at the end of the world.

Antarctica has been theorised in a number of ways over the course of its human history. This introduction outlines the emergence of the Antarctic humanities as a research field, and draws upon key scholars to trace the ways Antarctica has been manifested in the cultural imagination. Given that brands “represent a promise of value” and can “evoke emotions and prompt behaviours,”¹⁹ the concept is relevant throughout the thesis; this project is concerned with value, and representations of the far south that were designed to sell and be sold. As well as providing an overview of the commercial history of the far south, this thesis argues that Antarctica ought to be seen as part of a global commercial system, rather than a continent that exists apart from the rest of the world. Advertisements make up the bulk of the examples examined throughout this thesis, and the introduction therefore includes a brief history of advertising, before the specific methods employed throughout of this study are introduced. Finally, the introduction provides a short outline of each of the seven thesis chapters, preparing readers for a vicarious journey to the bottom of the world.

Theorizing Antarctica: Humanities and the Far South

While Antarctica has been the subject of continuous intense scientific research for over half a century now, the continent has come under close scrutiny from scholars in the humanities and social sciences only in recent years. Writing in 1994, T.H. Baughmann observed

as the largest landmass governed by international agreement, Antarctica is an experiment in the peaceful cooperation of nations. Thus the lack of attention paid to it by social scientists is curious.²⁰

Much has changed in the intervening decades, as Antarctica has come onto the radar of humanities and social sciences scholars from a wide range of

¹⁹ Kotler and Gertner, “Country as Brand,” 249.

²⁰ Baughmann, *Before the Heroes Came*, ix.

disciplinary backgrounds, from literature to musicology, history to geopolitics, and anthropology to tourism.²¹ Erin Neufeld argues that “the Antarctic does not exist in a vacuum;”²² instead, “the values that people bring to the Antarctic are rooted in their experience elsewhere, at home, outside the Antarctic.”²³ This makes Antarctica a fertile research ground for all those interested in values, perceptions, and human interactions with place.

Antarctic humanities and social sciences (HASS) work has been showcased in discipline-specific publications, as well as the specialist HASS-focused Antarctic Studies publication *The Polar Journal* (launched 2011). Peder Roberts, Lize-Marié van der Watt and Adrian Howkins’ 2016 edited collection *Antarctica and the Humanities* is a cornerstone publication that confidently asserts “the continent for science is also a continent for the humanities,”²⁴ and invites further reflection on the human dimension in the far south. In a more disciplinary-specific context, Ben Maddison argues that putting the history of Antarctic exploration into a wider context means that “rather than the perpetual circling around the pole of its own imagined uniqueness, Antarctic history becomes joined to the wider history of humanity.”²⁵

Another sign that the field of Antarctic Studies is maturing came with the inauguration of the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR) Social Sciences Action Group in 2010, and its subsequent 2014 transformation into the SCAR Humanities and Social Sciences Expert Group (HASSEG).²⁶ The group’s third biannual conference was held in Hobart in July 2017, with the three-day programme indicating a growing interest in such perspectives.²⁷ Elizabeth Leane has termed this shift “the cultural turn in Antarctic Studies,” explaining in a 2011 *Polar Journal* introduction that

²¹ For a detailed list of scholars in the Antarctic Humanities and Social Sciences, see the SCAR Antarctic Humanities & Social Sciences Expert Group. “Member Directory.” Here and for future similar references, see bibliography for website link and further details.

²² Neufeld et al, “Valuing Antarctica,” 249.

²³ Ibid., 249.

²⁴ Roberts, Van der Watt, and Howkins, *Antarctica and the Humanities*, 15.

²⁵ Maddison, *Class and Colonialism in Antarctic Exploration*, 198.

²⁶ SCAR Humanities and Social Sciences Expert Group, “About the Group.”

²⁷ SCAR Humanities and Social Sciences Expert Group, “Depths and Surfaces Conference 2017.”

the term 'culture' here is intended broadly, covering not only studies of artistic endeavours in areas such as the visual arts, literature, music and photography, but also research within fields such as cultural geography, cultural history, sociology, philosophy and gender studies.²⁸

This thesis builds on the cultural turn in Antarctic Studies – one that has produced something akin to an 'Antarctic humanities' – providing an analysis of representations of the continent through literary and media studies lenses. In order to contextualise this analysis, the following section discusses representations of Antarctica in artistic works, the way the Antarctic Treaty frames the continent as a 'place for peace and science,' and the notion of Antarctic exceptionalism.

Antarctica in Cultural Imagination

Most people will never visit Antarctica, so their experience of the place is mediated through forms of cultural production including films, photography, books, diaries, and advertisements. Such texts show that lack of access need not be a barrier to understanding, or to imagining, Antarctica; indeed, as David Walton writes, "the very idea of this polar place has excited the imagination for centuries."²⁹ Greek philosophers posited *Terra Australis Incognita* as a theoretical counterpoint to the landmasses of the north over 2000 years ago,³⁰ and the continent continues to inspire artists and writers³¹ from afar. In *The Myth of the Explorer*, Beau Riffenburgh notes "historians and geographers have agreed that what is perceived to exist or happen is equally important as what actually exists or happens."³² This means that cultural production has a powerful role to play in shaping knowledge about and attitudes towards Antarctica: works such as films and novels provide a frame for perceptions of this remote,

²⁸ Leane, "Introduction," 150. Leane goes on to explain "although the authors come from diverse disciplinary backgrounds, the essays are united by a focus on representation."

²⁹ Walton, "Discovering the Unknown Continent," 25.

³⁰ Clancy, Manning and Broolsma, *Mapping Antarctica*, 61.

³¹ See, for instance, the art of Gabby O'Connor, and the plays of Lynda Chanwai-Earle, Douglas Stewart, and Patricia Cornelius, as discussed in Nielsen, "The Wide White Stage."

³² Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer*, 3.

comparatively unvisited place.

The creators of artistic works related to the Antarctic are well aware of the power of representations. Photographer Anne Noble's interest in the far south was sparked by the notion that

Antarctica exists as a place that everyone imagines and that very few people have been to, so what it can tell us is a lot more about our culture of imagining than of Antarctica itself.³³

The concept of 'imagining Antarctica' formed the basis for a 2008 conference in Christchurch, New Zealand, and a 2010 follow-up in Hobart, Australia, where a range of imagined versions of place were examined in detail from a number of angles.³⁴ Various versions of Antarctica have dominated the collective imagination at different points in time. Baughmann writes how the Great Ice Barrier encountered by 'Heroic Era' explorers "dazzled the imagination of Antarctic explorers and followers of southern expeditions,"³⁵ encouraging notions of the sublime, while Max Jones et al have explored how deserts, polar wastelands and tropical rainforests are all "capable of representation as an untamed, and correspondingly attractive, world."³⁶ Antarctica as a place for heroes is another common theme – one that is discussed at length in Chapter 3. Peder Roberts writes how, for most of us

the Antarctic has ... come to be understood through a standard set of visual and historical reference markers, from penguins to Scott and Amundsen to the Antarctic Treaty, and climate change research.³⁷

No matter what references first spring to mind, for the majority of people, the imagined version of Antarctica they carry in their minds is far more real than actual snow and ice, and this makes it a powerful cultural force.

³³ Noble, "Antarctica Nullius."

³⁴ Crane, Leane and Williams, eds., *Imagining Antarctica*.

³⁵ Baughmann, *Before the Heroes Came*, 9.

³⁶ Jones, Sèbe, Strachan, Taithe and Yeandle, *Decolonising Imperial Heroes*, 801.

³⁷ Roberts, "The White (Supremacist) Continent," 105.

A Place for Peace and Science?

The official discourse about Antarctica in 2017 is that the continent is a place for peace and science. This has not always been the case, but rather dates back to the signing of the Antarctic Treaty on 1 December 1959. Earlier periods of Antarctic history are known as “The Heroic Era” (1895 – 1922) and “The Mechanical Era” (1922 – 1950s)³⁸ – both had as their focus imperial and geographic aims. The Antarctic Treaty, which effectively separated territorial claims (*dominium*) from the exercise of authority (*imperium*), ushered in a new way of conceptualising Antarctica as a place where nations work together to further scientific knowledge for all humankind. The treaty was the culmination of a series of events, including the International Geophysical Year (IGY) of 1957–58, that saw unprecedented scientific cooperation take place in the far south and around the world. The twelve original signatories to the Antarctic Treaty (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, USSR, UK, and USA), all took part in Antarctic activities during the IGY, and sought ways to continue their collaborations, whilst creating stability and ensuring Antarctica would “be used for peaceful purposes only.”³⁹ Klaus Dodds has analysed how the twelve original signatories

produced an attractive creation myth: they used science and scientists to portray themselves as political visionaries seeking to introduce peace and harmony to a remote continent.⁴⁰

The reality behind the original signatories’ motivations to sign was much more complicated, and very much informed by the global geopolitical situation, including the Cold War context.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the Treaty remains in place. As the number of signatories to the Antarctic Treaty has grown to 53 (as of 2017 there are 29 consultative and 24 non-consultative parties)⁴² the twin ideals of

³⁸ Hince, *The Antarctic Dictionary*, 227. Hince describes the 1940s and 1950s as constituting the Mechanical Era, although other scholars point to Shackleton’s 1922 *Quest* expedition as marking the break between the “Heroic” and “Mechanical” Ages. I use the earlier start date throughout this.

³⁹ Secretariat of the Antarctic Treaty. “Antarctic Treaty (1959),” Article 1.

⁴⁰ Dodds, *The Antarctic*, 86.

⁴¹ Bones, “SCAR as a healing process?” Bones notes “The Antarctic Treaty was negotiated, signed, and entered into force at a transitional moment during the Cold War.” *Ibid.*, 232.

⁴² Secretariat of the Antarctic Treaty, “Parties.”

‘peace’ and ‘science’ have stuck.

Science is thus the main human activity in the Antarctic, with National Antarctic Programmes administering research projects and logistics. Post Antarctic Treaty, science legitimates the human presence on the continent. However, Leane reminds her readers that

The very designation of the Antarctic as the ‘continent for science’ is of course a representation – a very powerful one, which resonates with the icescape itself, a giant white laboratory coat with its connotations of objectivity and impersonality.⁴³

This representation has had implications for both the Antarctic continent, and the species that call it home. Roberts asserts “there are alternative ways of articulating Antarctica – as a space for commerce, industry, urbanization, or even militarization.”⁴⁴ It is important to remember that the cultural frames through which Antarctica is viewed are grounded in particular contexts and histories, and are subject to shift as values and priorities back home change. The idea of Antarctica as a place for peace and science that needs to be protected is not inevitable, and should not be taken for granted.

The advertisements examined throughout this thesis make it clear how little traction the science framing has in popular culture. Despite the number of scientific projects that are undertaken in Antarctica each season, scientists and scientific work rarely appear in advertising material. The notable exceptions relate either to important events and national expeditions (for example, in a 1956 advertisement, Visco-Static Motor Oil refers to scientists on the *Australian National Antarctic Research Expedition* – see Figure 5.4), or to products from Antarctica (Figures 6.10, 6.11). Chapter 6 explains how the purity frame reveals close associations between notions of science, objectivity, and purity. Washing powders (see Figure 6.5 and Appendix AXt) and skin care products (see Figure 6.9 and Appendix AXr, AXs) have leveraged such associations, employing scientific language like ‘enzymes’ and ‘extremophile’ as a selling technique. That

⁴³ Leane, “Introduction,” 150.

⁴⁴ Roberts, “The White (Supremacist) Continent,” 121.

advertisements rarely employ science is telling of wider social priorities and perceptions; with most Antarctic research funded by government agencies, science takes, rather than makes, money.

Exceptionalising and De-exceptionalising Antarctica: Gender, Race and Nation

Previous scholars have examined literature,⁴⁵ visual culture,⁴⁶ music⁴⁷ and theatre⁴⁸ to explore attitudes towards Antarctica, yet forms of cultural production explicitly associated with commerce have been largely overlooked. One possible reason for this is the idea of Antarctic exceptionalism, which sets the continent apart from other parts of the world. Where American exceptionalism is related to “the assumption that the US is exempt from an imperial framework,”⁴⁹ Antarctic exceptionalism sees the continent as existing independent from the human history and structures of other parts of the world. Elena Glasberg also addresses scientific exceptionalism, or “the idea that scientific work is exempt from the political contexts within which it operates,”⁵⁰ as an element at play in the Antarctic. As Sanjay Chaturvedi puts it, the underlying reasoning for Antarctic exceptionalism “has been that specific polar attributes and issues related to the Antarctic demand and deserve an exclusive treatment on their own merit.”⁵¹ Antarctic exceptionalism, then, sees the continent as a place that is different to anywhere else on the planet, and one that should be approached in unique ways. This can lead to problems, including, as Alan Hemmings points out, “a widening gap between global best-practice and Antarctic practice.”⁵² This thesis works against ideas of Antarctic exceptionalism. As Leane has argued, diaries and other Antarctic artefacts and matters must “be

⁴⁵ Leane, *Antarctica in Fiction*, Glasberg, *Antarctica as Cultural Critique*, Brazzelli, “A Symbolic Geography of the Ice,” Spufford, *I May Be Some Time*.

⁴⁶ Yusoff, “Antarctic Exposure,” Glasberg, “Camera Artists in Antarctica,” Neel, “The Photography of Antarctica,” Noble, “Ice Blink.”

⁴⁷ Philpott, “Sonic Explorations of the Southernmost Continent.”

⁴⁸ Pearson, “No Joke in Petticoats,” Leane, “Icescape Theatre,” Nielsen, “Staging the South.”

⁴⁹ Glasberg, “Proto Territory” in *Contemporary Antarctica*, 210.

⁵⁰ Glasberg, *Antarctica as Cultural Critique*, 66.

⁵¹ Chaturvedi, “Emerging Science – Geopolitics Interface in the Antarctic,” 22.

⁵² Hemmings, “From the New Geopolitics of Resources to Nanotechnology,” 71.

situated within broader national, gendered, or periodised contexts”⁵³ rather than be treated as exceptional. The following chapters provide this context in order to bring to the fore the commercial and cultural links between the far south and the far-flung places readers may call ‘home’.

Although Antarctica does have a unique system of governance in the Antarctic Treaty System, the exceptionalist approach is problematic. It suggests that activity in Antarctica is not relevant to the rest of the world, and that actions elsewhere will not have any bearing on the continent. In fact, as oceanographer Karin Lochte put it during the SCAR lecture at the 2009 Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting (ATCM)

Antarctica is inextricably linked to global atmospheric, oceanographic and climatic processes and therefore exposed to the impact of human activities in the rest of the world!⁵⁴

Global environmental issues such as climate change also reveal the ways Antarctica is entangled in worldwide systems of commerce – the purchase and consumption of fuels in far away countries will eventually have an impact on the air, oceans and ice of the far south. As Hemmings puts it, “globalisation now denies us the capacity to treat anywhere differently and thereby disables the principle of Antarctic exceptionalism.”⁵⁵ This thesis demonstrates how Antarctica has long been embroiled in commercial transactions, and argues that the continent should not be automatically disassociated from capitalism and the market, but rather viewed in a global environmental, economic, and cultural context. Nevertheless, the widespread exceptionalist view that made the humanities so slow to approach Antarctica has similarly kept its history remarkably immune from critiques based around identity politics up until recently.

⁵³ Leane, “Antarctic Diaries and Heroic Reputations,” 32.

⁵⁴ Lochte, “Marine Life and Change in the Southern Ocean.” Quoted in Summerson, “The Protection of Wilderness and Aesthetic Values in Antarctica,” 240.

⁵⁵ Hemmings, “From the New Geopolitics of Resources to Nanotechnology,” 55.

Antarctica has long been conceived of as a masculine space, with Admiral Ready's 1965 description "the womanless white continent of peace"⁵⁶ remaining the dominant conception of the place until well into the 1980s.⁵⁷ Caroline Mikkelsen is recognised as the first woman to set foot on the continent Antarctica in 1935, yet she did not choose to acknowledge her 'first' status until the 1990s.⁵⁸ Mikkelsen's response provides a stark contrast to the polar explorers who sought glory from attaining firsts such as to reach the Pole, and thus serves to highlight the pervasive construct of Antarctica as a highly masculine, competitive arena. This framing has similarities to other extreme environments: Lisa Bloom, who conducted early work on gender and race in the polar regions, describes how "the Arctic provided a narrative space for the realization of manhood."⁵⁹ Scholars such as Robin Burns, Christy Collins, and Lisbeth Lewander have all examined women's experiences in the Antarctic through a critical lens, and have encountered lingering stereotypes; in 2009, Lewander recorded that, when talking of her work, she was often met with the comment "but there are no women in Antarctica."⁶⁰ Women are in fact present, and have broken records in the far south to attain their own 'firsts' – for instance, in 2013 Maria Leijerstam became the first person to cycle a recumbent bicycle to the South Pole.⁶¹ Despite this, gender politics continues to accompany risk-taking, particularly in the context of extreme sports or polar exploration. Catherine Palmer explains how

the discourse of extremity is unquestionably highly gendered, which makes it culturally unacceptable for women to dramatically, if fatally, distinguish themselves from the crowd.⁶²

Women researchers, too, have struggled to raise their profiles within the crowded media scape. The lack of easily available information about female

⁵⁶ Quoted in Chipman, "Women on the Ice," 87.

⁵⁷ The first female station leader was the Australian Diana Patterson, who headed Mawson station in 1989, while the first all-female team to winter over stayed at Germany's Georg von Neumayer station, led by Monika Puskeppeleit in 1990–91.

⁵⁸ Lewander, "Women and Civilisation on Ice," 92.

⁵⁹ Bloom, "Gender on Ice," 105.

⁶⁰ Lewander, "Women and Civilisation on Ice," 89.

⁶¹ Wright, "British Adventurer Maria Laijerstam Achieved World First."

⁶² Palmer, "Shit Happens," 333.

researchers and leaders provided impetus for the 2016 Antarctic Women Wikibomb event, which saw a concerted effort to add profiles of prominent female Antarctic researchers to the online encyclopedia Wikipedia.⁶³ More recently, the Homeward Bound programme has launched “a groundbreaking leadership, strategic and science initiative and outreach for women, set against the backdrop of Antarctica,”⁶⁴ aimed at increasing the influence, leadership, and impact of women in science and policy. Women have made their mark on Antarctic research, policy, and exploration, but – as case studies in Chapters 3 and 4 show – the historical context of masculinity has continued to manifest in attitudes and assumptions about human activity on the continent. Despite the fact that Antarctica has no indigenous population, the continent has a fraught history when it comes to race and notions of white supremacy. Roberts has critically analysed links between Nazi survival myths and the far south, and describes how

the authoritarian, racially exclusive nature of the Nazi regime could be easily inscribed upon the environment that perhaps most closely reflected its own characteristics: the harsh, icy Antarctica.⁶⁵

Lize-Marié van der Watt and Sandra Swart claim “Antarctica was the last continent, the last locality, where fantasies of white masculinities could be played out.”⁶⁶ Historical masculine narratives continue to hold appeal; recent Antarctic expeditions have seen veterans and adventurers follow ‘in the footsteps of’ earlier explorers, while there are many examples of leadership books inspired by (the idea of) Ernest Shackleton.⁶⁷

Rebecca Farley has analysed the ways Shackleton himself “embodied a model of manly white explorer integral to British imperialism,”⁶⁸ and these associations continue to have modern-day implications. Van der Watt and Swart note that in post-apartheid South Africa, it was not black scientists and station personnel

⁶³ The Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research, “Wikibomb Event.” Wikipedia had already been under the spotlight because of gender inequality in its entries.

⁶⁴ Homeward Bound, “About.”

⁶⁵ Roberts, “The White (Supremacist) Continent,” 117.

⁶⁶ Van der Watt and Swart, “The Whiteness of Antarctica,” 146.

⁶⁷ Both these expeditions and leadership books are explored in detail in Chapter 3.

⁶⁸ Farley, “By endurance we conquer,” 231.

who were celebrated

but rather the exploits of black men who fit into the mold of the white explorers of the Heroic Age through a series of firsts—including the first to the South Pole, first to do an unassisted trek and so on. They literally had to walk in the footsteps of white men to prove their worth.”⁶⁹

These ‘in the footsteps’ expeditions also bring the question of nationalism to the fore, as Heroic Era expeditioners were often tasked with claiming territory for their home nations – nations that already had a long history of colonisation in other parts of the world.⁷⁰ As Maddison puts it, “Antarctic exploration was saturated in colonialism from start to finish”⁷¹ – the location may have been different, but the sentiment about acquiring territory remained the same.

The exceptionalist view of Antarctica becomes harder to sustain when one looks at the full extent of its history of human interaction instead of focussing on heroes and scientists. Rather than existing apart from scholarship on social issues of race, gender and nationalism, Antarctica deserves to be examined critically through a range of lenses that refute its exceptional status. Social and historical contexts play an important role in how Antarctica has been viewed, narrated, and understood; this background is therefore explored in detail in each chapter, prior to the analysis of individual advertisements. By providing this context, then analysing a new body of texts in a cultural domain that has so far remained unexplored, this thesis makes an innovative contribution to the emerging field of humanities-based Antarctic Studies.

Supermarket of the South: Antarctica’s Commercial History

The human history of Antarctica is fundamentally a commercial history. Sealers and whalers first came into contact with and mapped the continent’s coastline as

⁶⁹ Van der Watt and Swart, “The Whiteness of Antarctica,” 144.

⁷⁰ In her play “Moj of the Antarctic” playwright Mojisola Adebayo draws parallels between the ways in which Antarctica and other colonised places have been conceptualised. See Nielsen, “The Wide White Stage,” 118.

⁷¹ Maddison, *Class and Colonialism in Antarctic Exploration*, 159.

they headed south for their hunt in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. When Captain Edward Bransfield (UK), Captain Nathaniel Palmer (USA) and Admiral Fabian Gottlieb von Bellingshausen (Russia) all officially logged sightings of Antarctica in 1820/21, their reports “opened a brief period of exploration motivated by commercial concerns.”⁷² The sealing industry in the far south hunted fur seals primarily for their skins and fur, with blubber also used for oil. Knowledge about the location of hunting grounds was very valuable, so sealing captains did not always record their exact location in readily available logs and maps. Baughmann writes that “because secrecy was the key to preserving profits, the extent of exploration in the first two decades of the nineteenth century is largely unknown.”⁷³ As a result, I have argued that “the unreliable nature of the earliest records of human interaction with Antarctica has at its heart a commercial cause.”⁷⁴ The captains’ fears about losing exclusive access to their sealing grounds – and thereby their livelihoods – were not unfounded. By the mid 1800s fears were being voiced about the sustainability of hunting practices,⁷⁵ and by the end of the century Antarctic fur seals had been hunted almost to extinction in a number of previously fertile locations.⁷⁶

Whales were another species that lured hunters into southern latitudes. The Southern Ocean is an important feeding ground for cetaceans such as Humpback, Minke, Blue, and Southern Right whales⁷⁷ during the austral summer, making it an attractive location for whalers to operate.⁷⁸ Shore-based stations were active on the sub-Antarctic islands and in the Antarctic Peninsula region from 1904,⁷⁹ followed by factory ships from 1926 onwards.⁸⁰ Whales were flensed for their

⁷² Baughmann, *Before the Heroes Came*, 7.

⁷³ Ibid., 7.

⁷⁴ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 184.

⁷⁵ One example of this concern is articulated in James Fenimore Cooper’s 1849 novel *The Sea Lions; or, The Lost Sealers*.

⁷⁶ Hucke-Gaete, Osman, Moreno and Torres, “Examining Natural Population Growth from Near Extinction,” 304.

⁷⁷ Thiele, Chester and Gill, “Cetacean Distribution off Eastern Antarctica.”

⁷⁸ Clark and Lamberson, “An Economic History and Analysis of Pelagic Whaling,” 104. The authors claim Antarctica was “the last and greatest sanctuary of the whale.” Ibid., 104.

⁷⁹ Hince, *The Antarctic Dictionary*, 312. The first shore-based whaling station was established on South Georgia in 1904.

⁸⁰ Dibbern, “Fur Seals, Whales and Tourists,” 212. Although pelagic whaling was dominant from 1930 onwards, the shore-based whaling station at South Georgia continued operation until 1965.

blubber, which was rendered down into oil and used to lubricate machinery, manufacture food products such as margarine, and even to fuel street lamps in distant cities such as London.⁸¹ Penguins were not immune to such commercial interest either, with Joseph Hatch rendering them down for lamp oil on Macquarie Island between 1890–1920.⁸² As a result, Antarctic products were being consumed right across the world, as the continent became implicated in a global system of harvest and trade. Whaling faced a similar fate to sealing, with stock collapses in the early twentieth century. This has had lasting implications; Olav Orheim writes that “it was the introduction of large-scale whaling, a much more important commercial activity, which brought forward the need for regulations [on harvest in the Southern Ocean].”⁸³ As of 2017, the International Whaling Commission (IWC)⁸⁴ and the Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Seals (CCAS)⁸⁵ control whaling and sealing activities in the Southern Ocean.⁸⁶

Harvest continues in other ways, however. The Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources (CCAMLR) was set up in 1982 in response to increased interest in the krill fishery, and continues to determine catch limits for fish and krill in the Southern Ocean.⁸⁷ Discussions have been held regarding the feasibility of using Antarctic icebergs as a fresh water source,⁸⁸ while melted

⁸¹ Maizonave et al, “Integrated System for Intelligent Street Lighting,” 721.

⁸² Pearce, “Boiled-to-death Penguins are Back from the Brink.” Macquarie Island is home to Royal, King, Rockhopper and Gentoo penguins. Contrary to popular opinion, the penguins were not marched into boilers while still alive.

⁸³ Orheim, “Managing the Frozen Commons,” 274.

⁸⁴ International Whaling Commission, “Homepage.”

⁸⁵ CCAS (1972) is an instrument of the Antarctic Treaty System. Antarctic Treaty Secretariat, “Related Agreements”

⁸⁶ No seals are currently hunted. In March 2014, the International Court of Justice ruled that the Japanese scientific whaling program in Antarctica, JARPA II, was “not for purposes of scientific research” – one of the only exceptions to the current commercial moratorium on whaling. However, limited scientific whaling continues to be undertaken by Japan as part of a new program since the ICJ ruling – NEWREP-A. For analysis, see Hodgson-Johnston, “The New International Whaling Resolution.”

⁸⁷ Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources, “About CCAMLR.”

⁸⁸ Hult and Ostrander, *Antarctic Icebergs*. In 2017 the United Arab Emirates-based firm, National Advisor Bureau, also announced the “UAE Iceberg Project,” where an Antarctic iceberg would provide fresh water for the equatorial nation. Express Web Desk. “UAE Firm Plans to Haul Iceberg from Antarctica.”

Antarctic ice has appeared in beverage form.⁸⁹ More recently, biological prospecting (or “bioprospecting”) has put products with Antarctic roots on consumer shelves as an ingredient in cosmetics, nutraceuticals, foods and medicines.⁹⁰ While products from Antarctica – seal furs, whale blubber, and krill oil included – do not constitute the main focus of this project, they cannot be ignored. The concept of Antarctica as a place for harvest has a long history, and this history provides important context for examining subsequent representations of Antarctica in commercial settings. Some of the earliest Antarctic advertisements related to such products – the “Antarctic Whalebone” brand featured in Figure 1.3 is a case in point, as are advertisements for Hatch’s elephant oil (A1910b).⁹¹ More recent examples (such as advertisements for krill oil and tourism) illustrate the ways Antarctica is conceived of as a commercially valuable arena in the twenty-first century. As technologies and attitudes both evolve, the ways humans interact with – and take resources from – Antarctica also changes.⁹²

Why Advertising?

Advertisements are useful because they showcase so patently the commodification of Antarctic imagery. At the same time, they provide a shortcut to ideas that are already in common cultural circulation, thus providing us with a mirror for our attitudes towards the place. As Judith Williamson puts it, “ads are the great recyclers of images: they feed off the iconography of the present, at the same time as perpetuating it.”⁹³ In her seminal work *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*, Williamson explains how her “interest has never been so much in adverts, as in what they show about our society and ways

⁸⁹ In late 2010 a one-off run of 30 bottles of “Antarctic Nail Ale” Beer that was brewed with Antarctic ice was bottled and marketed as “possibly the world’s oldest and purest beer.” See Chapter 5.

⁹⁰ See, for instance, “Antarctilyne” – discussed in Chapter 5.

⁹¹ For further examples, see Chapple, “Harvest of Souls.”

⁹² Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 185.

⁹³ Williamson, “Unfreezing the Truth.”

of seeing ourselves.”⁹⁴ Gill Branston and Ray Stafford concur, asserting “media structure the very realities which they seem to describe.”⁹⁵ By examining advertisements that feature Antarctica, it is possible to gain insights into how Antarctica has been constructed in a number of overlapping and sometimes competing ways.

A range of geographic locations have been examined through advertising, providing useful models for this research. In a study of the Pacific Islands, Hannah Perkins and Max Quanchi argue “published photography created a place – The Islands – that was meaningful, accessible and easily understood by Queenslanders.”⁹⁶ In this case, images of far away islands were published back home in Australia, and helped to create a version of the place that viewers could relate to, even without having been there. Jon Goss conducted similar work in 1993, when he examined representations of the Hawaiian Islands in print advertising.⁹⁷ Observations of the ways tourist destinations have been depicted are particularly useful in informing Chapter 7 of this thesis, yet tourism is not the only area where this work is useful. Philip Kotler and David Gertner have shown how countries can act as both product and brand, and assert “country images are important extrinsic clues in product evaluations.”⁹⁸

Representations of particular places in advertisements can therefore be used to sell a variety of products, including food, drink, and clothing. The associations that particular geographic images bring to mind are valuable both commercially and culturally. For instance, Avivit Agam Dali has used the “no-place” of the desert landscape as a backdrop to conduct an “analysis of how visual symbols are displayed for commercial purposes in popular culture.”⁹⁹ Dali uses the themes that emerged at different points in time to draw conclusions about the way the desert was conceptualised variously as forbidden, militarised, or exotic. This thesis takes a similar approach with Antarctica: signs and symbols in the

⁹⁴ Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements*, 8.

⁹⁵ Branston and Stafford, *The Media Student Book*, 9.

⁹⁶ Perkins and Quanchi, “To the Islands,” 11.

⁹⁷ Goss, “Placing the Market.”

⁹⁸ Kotler and Gertner, “Country as Brand,” 258.

⁹⁹ Dali, “Advertising as a Semiotic System of Space,” 342.

landscape of advertisements help to build meaning, and offer fertile grounds for analysis. Writing about landscape photography, Liz Wells argues that “landscape is a social product: particular landscapes tell us something about cultural histories and attitudes.”¹⁰⁰ Terrain is framed in different ways at different times, and to different ends; analysing representations of landscapes in advertising can therefore reveal much about the dominant attitudes to that particular place at a given point in time.

Historicising Advertising: Then and Now

As this study ranges over more than a century, a historicist approach to advertising is necessary. Branston and Stafford have shown that “advertising can arguably be found as far back as Greek and Roman public criers.”¹⁰¹ The modern form with which people are most familiar, however, appeared in the nineteenth century, alongside the industrial revolution.¹⁰² It was at this time that “the corporate signature, as the embodiment of pure exchange value in monopoly capital, [found] its independent existence.”¹⁰³ As markets became more readily available and large-scale production became possible, the need to differentiate one product from another became more pressing, and rhetoric became a valuable tool. Rhetoric is the art of discourse and persuasion – simply put, it is language that has a persuasive effect. It could therefore be argued that all advertising is rhetorical to some degree. Indeed, Foss claims “images in the form of advertisements, television, film, architecture, interior design and dress constitute a major part of the rhetorical environment.”¹⁰⁴ That rhetorical environment has not always appeared the same as it does today; as Anabela Carvalho puts it, “the historical nature of discourse is one of its most fundamental characteristics.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Wells, *Land Matters*, 1.

¹⁰¹ Branston and Stafford, *The Media Student Book*, 365.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 365.

¹⁰³ McClintock, “Soft-Soaping Empire,” 758.

¹⁰⁴ Foss, “Theory of Visual Rhetoric,” 142.

¹⁰⁵ Carvalho, “Media(ted) Discourse and Society,” 163.

Looking back over the history of advertisements, we see that an early emphasis on copywriting has gradually shifted towards display and illustration,¹⁰⁶ with lifestyle coming to the fore. Until the 1920s, information was a key component of advertisements, but this was later superseded by symbolic representations, and – post 1945 – by concern for the emotional reactions of the viewer.¹⁰⁷ Early testimonials stressed the utility of a product, while modern examples focus on the emotional experience and satisfaction.¹⁰⁸ As Leiss et al put it

the product no longer stands as an autonomous object independent of the human world, but rather is displayed as an integral part of the codification of human existence and interaction.¹⁰⁹

Such developments are visible in the corpus of Antarctic advertisements examined in this project, with early testimonials exhibiting verbose qualities, and more recent examples relying much more heavily on visual language and connotation to communicate their message. The media chosen to exhibit such advertisements has also shifted, with the newspapers and magazines that were dominant in the early part of the twentieth century giving way to film, billboards, banner advertisements, and other online media. As of 2017, advertising campaigns are regularly deployed across a range of multimedia platforms, in order to have maximum impact in a media-saturated environment. Each chapter in this thesis includes specific Antarctic history relevant to the chapter, and also provides a brief summary of the state of the advertising industry at the time, thus putting the inbuilt chronology of each of the thematic framings into context.

Definitions, Approaches and Scope

A number of the key terms used in this thesis, while used straightforwardly in every day speech, require careful definition when they are used as the parameters for an academic study. For example, what is meant by the terms “Antarctic” and “Antarctica” differs depending on the context in which they are

¹⁰⁶ Leiss, Kline, Jhally and Botterill. “Social Communication in Advertising,” 168.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 199.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 186.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 190.

used. The term “Antarctic” stems from the Greek “Arktos,” meaning bear (referring to a constellation of stars near the North Pole);¹¹⁰ Antarctica provides the counterpoint to the bear in the North. Generally speaking, “Antarctica” is used to refer to the continent – including the ice sheet that sits atop the bedrock¹¹¹ – and “the Antarctic” designates a wider area, encompassing the surrounding ocean and the Sub-Antarctic Islands. The Antarctic Treaty defines “Antarctica” as all land and ice shelves south of 60° South latitude,¹¹² while CCAMLR employs the natural feature of the Antarctic Convergence as a border.¹¹³ While the majority of advertisements analysed in this project are set on the continent itself, the surrounding Southern Ocean is also taken into account, particularly during discussions over whaling, sealing, fishing, and the use of other marine living resources. This thesis uses a definition in which the advertisements themselves signal an Antarctic place-identity through image and/or text, whether marine or terrestrial.

How the term “Antarctica” is understood also differs depending on national context, and whether or not a nation was involved in the partitioning of Antarctica during the early twentieth century.¹¹⁴ Territorial claims and resources have long been intertwined, as highlighted by Douglas Mawson’s 1913 assertion that “the geographical range of Antarctica, south of Australia... should be formally annexed with a view to its commercial exploitation.”¹¹⁵ As Brigid Hains observes in her study of *The Ice and the Outback*, “imperialism has always had

¹¹⁰ Bulkeley, “Naming Antarctica,” 2.

¹¹¹ The US Board on Geographic Names has defined Antarctica as the “continent, together with the islands rising from the continental block, centering roughly on the South Pole and lying almost wholly within the Antarctic Circle.” The United States Board on Geographic Names, *Geographic Names of Antarctica*.

¹¹² Secretariat of the Antarctic Treaty, “Antarctic Treaty (1959).” Article VI.

¹¹³ Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources. Article 1.1 The “Convention applies to the Antarctic marine living resources of the area south of 60° South latitude and to the Antarctic marine living resources of the area between that latitude and the Antarctic Convergence which form part of the Antarctic marine ecosystem.” The convergence is further defined as “a line joining the following points along parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude: 50°S, 0°; 50°S, 30°E; 45°S, 30°E; 45°S, 80°E; 55°S, 80°E; 55°S, 150°E; 60°S, 150°E; 60°S, 50°W; 50°S, 50°W; 50°S, 0°.”

¹¹⁴ Argentina, Australia, Chile, Britain, France, New Zealand and Norway all made claims to Antarctica prior to the 1959 Antarctic Treaty. USA and USSR both reserved the right to make a claim in future.

¹¹⁵ Mawson, *The Adelie Blizzard*, 182.

economic dimensions.”¹¹⁶ Mawson’s series of articles on the “Commercial Resources of Antarctica”¹¹⁷ from 1913 brings this to the fore. Australia is one of seven claimant nations that consider parts of the continent to belong to their national territory.¹¹⁸ Slices of the Antarctic Peninsula appear on official maps of both Chile and Argentina, while the Australian Antarctic Territory, British Antarctic Territory, and New Zealand’s Ross Dependency all have their own postage stamps and post office facilities.¹¹⁹ France and Norway also claim sectors. For non-claimant nations, such concepts of ownership or sovereignty are at odds with their view of Antarctica as a global commons¹²⁰ that belongs to everyone (the question of who has access to Antarctica was at the heart of Malaysia’s objections to the status quo during the 1980s, and the 1972 push to establish Antarctica as a World Park under the United Nations’ Auspices).¹²¹ Territorial claims are held in abeyance under Article IV of the 1959 Antarctic Treaty, which states that

no acts or activities taking place while the present Treaty is in force shall constitute a basis for asserting, supporting or denying a claim to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica or create any rights of sovereignty in Antarctica.¹²²

Nevertheless, the existence of the claims continues to play an important role in how nations imagine and interact with the far south.

¹¹⁶ Hains, *The Ice and The Inland*, 48.

¹¹⁷ Mawson, *The Adelie Blizzard*. Articles in the series include “Whales and Whaling,” “Seals and Sealing,” and “Birds and Fish.”

¹¹⁸ The Argentine claim over *Antártida Argentina* covers 25°W–74°W; the Chilean claim over *Antártica Chilena* covers 53°W–90°W; the British claim over the *British Antarctic Territory* covers 20°W–80°W (these three overlap). The New Zealand claim over the *Ross Dependency* covers 160°E–150°W; the Australian claim over the *Australian Antarctic Territory* covers 45°E–136°E and 142°E–160°E; the French claim over *Terre Adélie* covers 142°E–136°E; and the Norwegian claim over *Dronning Maud Land* lies between 44°E–20°W, with no defined northern or southern boundaries.

¹¹⁹ Harris, “Cape Denison Post Office Established”; Bagshawe, “The Postal History of the Antarctic, 1904-49.”

¹²⁰ The United Nations Environment Programme provides background to the concept of “Global Commons”: “international law identifies four global commons namely: the High Seas; the Atmosphere; Antarctica; and, Outer Space.” United Nations Environment Programme. “Division of Environmental Law and Conventions.”

¹²¹ Howkins, *Frozen Empires*, 187-188.

¹²² Secretariat of the Antarctic Treaty. “Antarctic Treaty (1959).” Article IV.

This thesis focuses on Antarctica, so Arctic advertisements and materials are outside the scope of this study. Although both the north and south polar regions are cold, comparatively featureless icy landscapes that have been constructed as remote in the western imagination, there are important differences that make it appropriate to examine each in its own right. The Arctic and Antarctic are two distinct regions on the earth; the Arctic in the north consists of a frozen sea surrounded by land, while the Antarctic in the south is a frozen continent surrounded by ocean. The Arctic has a long human history, and indigenous people have lived well above the polar circle for thousands of years, calling the place home. Antarctica, on the other hand, has a very young human history, and no indigenous population. It remained the last blank space on the map well into the twentieth century, and continues to be characterized as a “wide white page”¹²³ or “an untouched wilderness – an architectural tabula rasa.”¹²⁴ Roberts notes

there is a long tradition of describing Antarctica as a screen upon which values, commitments, and desires are projected, from nationalism and imperialism to personal gain and – more recently – environmental protection.”¹²⁵

Given these differences, and the sheer number of advertisements that relate to each region, it would be unrealistic to include both Arctic and Antarctic advertisements in the current project. Instead, it is appropriate to examine the Antarctic as a field of study in its own right, and to invite scholars of the north to build on this work in future.

In determining whether or not advertisements were ‘Antarctic’ rather than ‘Arctic’ or ‘bipolar,’ I took several factors into account. Often just the presence of a penguin is used to mark an icescape as south polar (as opposed to polar bears in the north). Penguins can act as a metonym for Antarctica, regardless of their genus; it is not uncommon to come across African Blackfooted or Magellanic penguins in campaigns that reference the far south, even though neither are

¹²³ Manhire, *The Wide White Page*.

¹²⁴ Wood, “Cold Comfort,” 120.

¹²⁵ Roberts, “The White (Supremacist) Continent,” 107.

Antarctic species. However, penguins and polar bears meet in advertising campaigns far more often than in real life – the well-known Coca-Cola campaign that features both¹²⁶ has a lot to answer for when it comes to geographical awareness. For the purposes of this project, advertisements that featured only penguins (whether an Antarctic species or not) and no other polar link (such as anchoring text or juxtaposition designed to encourage polar associations) were discounted, as the focus here is on Antarctica as a continent, not the cultural connotations of penguins. An analysis of the birds in advertising could form the basis of a similar, standalone project.

Other Antarctic advertisements gesture to historical figures by featuring scenes reminiscent of Shackleton's *Endurance* ship trapped in the ice, or Scott's men trekking to the Pole; such advertisements are included in the analysis, as the images incorporate the icescape, and the historical figures have meaning largely in association with the continent. Finally, the titles of campaigns can be used to designate advertisements as 'Antarctic'. Chapter 6, which deals with fragility, discusses the similarities between north and south polar imagery in recent advertising, suggesting that in the case of advertisements with environmental connotations, clearly defining a specific polar location is difficult. Nonetheless, in order to retain a tight analytical focus and a manageable dataset, the advertisements included as case studies in this project clearly mention Antarctica, or employ Antarctic narratives and tropes as rhetorical devices.

Advertising can be defined in a number of ways, and the term can carry both positive and negative connotations. For Linda M. Scott, advertising images are "a symbol system employed for the purposes of persuasion,"¹²⁷ while Michael O'Shaughnessy and Jane Stadler claim "advertising can be seen as a form of propaganda and brainwashing that supports capitalist consumerism."¹²⁸ Leiss et al write that advertising represents a contested discourse precisely because "the primary field of the content of modern advertising is contemporary culture

¹²⁶ Adland, "COCA-COLA / COKE – POLAR BEARS / PENGUINS (2005) 0:30 (USA)."

¹²⁷ Scott, "Images in Advertising," 265.

¹²⁸ O'Shaughnessy and Stadler. *Media and Society*, 9.

itself.”¹²⁹ For the purposes of this study, “advertisement” is understood to refer to “a notice or announcement in a public medium promoting a product, service, or event or publicizing a job vacancy.”¹³⁰ This thesis examines print advertisements and still digital images – a necessary limitation, as these alone comprise hundreds of examples, as discussed below.

Advertisements Wanted: Sourcing Materials

It is telling that an advertisement, supposedly written by Ernest Shackleton, has endured as one of the most famous Antarctic texts (Figure 1.2). The much-circulated recruitment notice read as follows:

MEN WANTED for hazardous journey. Small wages, bitter cold, long months of complete darkness, constant danger, safe return doubtful.
Honour and recognition in case of success.¹³¹

Although the advertisement itself is most likely to have been apocryphal (the first printed reference dates to 1944,¹³² and exhaustive searches of period newspapers have revealed no sign of an earlier original), it continues to appear in popular culture. The three lines have been reproduced across countless media – on t-shirts, posters, mugs, and even as the central conceit of an advertising campaign for Detroit city (A2010g).¹³³ The advertisement has been used as shorthand for the Heroic Era of Antarctic exploration, evoking at a glance ideas of heroism, masculinity, and endurance. As Leane puts it, the advertisement is “a Heroic-Era fiction that has entered into communal memory.”¹³⁴ Now in cultural circulation, it has taken on an identity of its own; rather than trying to attract expeditioners, the advertisement has become a product that now sells itself – and the promise of adventure. The three sentences have the power to evoke imagined scenes of the far south, drawing the viewer into a rich historical tapestry of heroism and masculinity – themes that are explored at length in

¹²⁹ Leiss, Kline, Jhally and Botterill. “Social Communication in Advertising,” 774.

¹³⁰ Oxford English Dictionary, Online, s.v. “advertisement.”

¹³¹ Other illustrations of the advertisement commonly use the US spelling “honor.”

¹³² Elmore, *Quit You Like Men*, 53.

¹³³ “Selling Detroit.”

¹³⁴ Leane, *Antarctica in Fiction*, 85.

Chapter 3. The continued use of the advertisement reveals much about how Antarctic history is remembered, and reprises an imagined version of Antarctica as harsh, hostile, and a place not for the faint of heart.

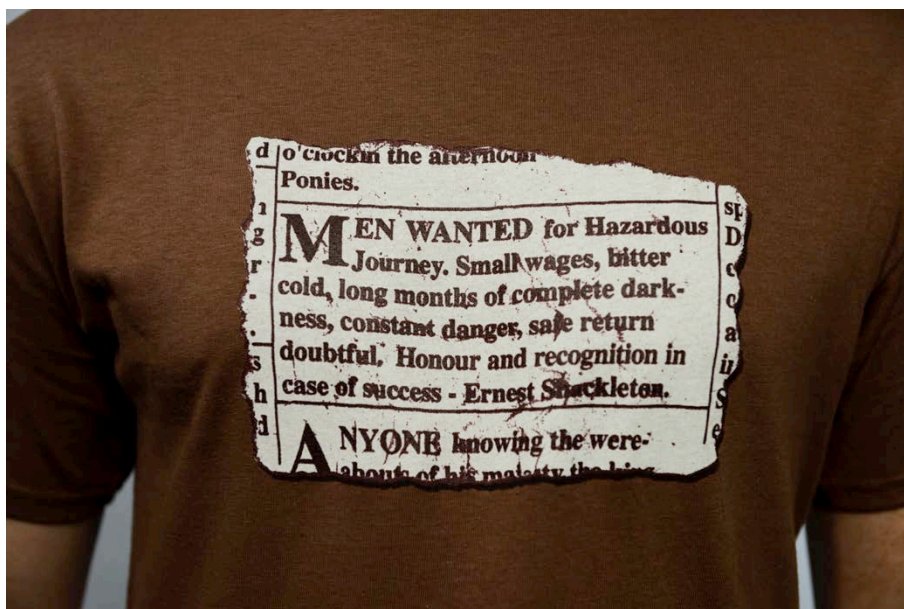


Figure 1.2: The famous (apocryphal) recruitment advertisement for Shackleton's second Antarctic expedition, as it appears on a T-Shirt, 2012

(Photo Credit: Richard Williams)

Over five hundred advertisements were collected during the process of writing this thesis, and the appendix reveals the range of such material. Sourcing the advertisements produced several challenges. Finding advertisements from the early twentieth century can be difficult, as advertisements were often seen as ephemera and not kept when volumes of magazines were collated. In the case of *The Strand Magazine*, the one entire copy I was able to locate did indeed contain Antarctic adverts that referenced Captain Scott's recent expedition. It is highly likely that the following issues of *The Strand* magazine also contained similar adverts, but only article text was retained in the various collated versions. This complication is one reason a systematic search through a particular magazine was not an appropriate research method for this project. As well as the problem with earlier publications rarely being preserved with advertising and ephemera

intact, Antarctic advertisements are simply not common enough to warrant a content analysis approach.

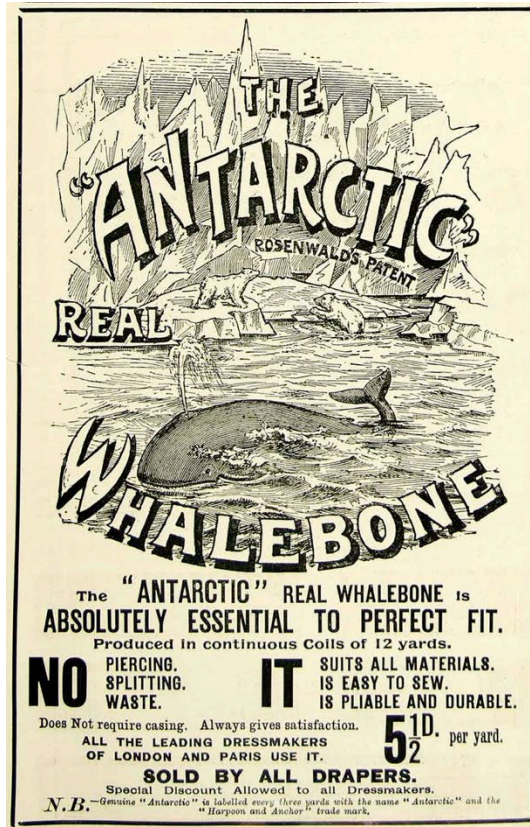
The advertisements examined were sourced in a number of ways. Archival research proved useful in the early stages, with searches through newspaper clippings, magazines, and microfiche documents revealing a range of advertisements from the Heroic Era of Antarctic exploration. Libraries consulted included the Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington), New Zealand National Library (Wellington), Canterbury Museum archives (Christchurch), Christchurch City Libraries, the University of Canterbury's Macmillan Brown Library, Auckland City Libraries, the American Geographical Society Library (Milwaukee), and the Wisconsin Historical Society (Madison). Online searches have also been useful in unearthing examples of Antarctic advertisements. Vintage imagery has recently come into vogue, so many advertisements from the early twentieth century are now appearing for sale as prints on online poster sites. For example, an image of an original 'Antarctic Whalebone' advertisement (Figure 1.3) is now marketed on several photo stock websites,¹³⁵ illustrating a secondary commercial use: the original need to market a product that had an Antarctic link has been superseded by a demand for polar nostalgia. This is true of many Antarctic advertisements that date from the Heroic Era through to the IGY and beyond; the UK based Advertising Archives website offers prints featuring Robert Falcon Scott promoting Oxo soup (A1912g) and Shackleton endorsing Bovril (A1909a),¹³⁶ while the Vintage Ad Browser website includes a 1930 Admiral Richard Byrd endorsement for Carl Zeiss binoculars (AXk) and a 1959 Ray-Ban sunglasses advertisement (A1959a), complete with a link to the online marketplace eBay.¹³⁷ The context of the original advertisement has often been lost; the advertisements are presented not as persuasive images to be disseminated via popular culture, but as aesthetic artifacts to be admired in their own right. As a result, old advertisements that have long lain forgotten are

¹³⁵ Alamy. "Stock Photo," and Ebay, "Whalebone."

¹³⁶ Advertising Archives, "Antarctic."

¹³⁷ Vintage Ad Browser, "Searching for Byrd."

resurfacing, providing further cultural signposts to show how Antarctica has been thought about at different points in time.



*Figure 1.3: Victorian advertisement for "Antarctic" brand whalebone, 1895.
Note the polar bears (Source: Advertising Archives, "Whalebone Corsets Antarctic")*

In order for an advertisement to qualify for inclusion in this project, basic contextual data about where and when the advertisement was published (country, publication, date) needed to be confirmed. Any details about the advertising company that created the advertisement (where applicable), and reports about contemporary reactions to the campaigns, were also useful. Accessing such information has been easier with more recent campaigns, as the advertisements appear in the portfolios of the companies that created them, particularly if the campaign won critical acclaim. There have been several instances where advertising agencies have closed their doors, making further information difficult to access. Such difficulties highlight again the ephemeral

nature of advertisements, which are designed for a particular point in time, and considered disposable once they have served their purpose. The Appendix includes all relevant advertisements sourced, and illustrates the range of imagery and language used, but the analysis draws only on those for which sufficient contextual information could be found.

The need to contextualise advertisements inevitably limits the number of objects of analysis, so the collection of advertisements considered in this study, while substantial, does not represent an exhaustive set. Limitations include language, availability, and the need to provide adequate context for the advertisements considered. Such context includes the original location of the advertisement, how the advertisement has been redisplayed, and whether the image is part of a series. All have a bearing on how the advertisement should be approached; as Leiss et al put it, “we cannot criticize advertising independently of the social context in which it performs.”¹³⁸ This project focuses on advertisements from NZ, Australia, UK and the USA because “ways of seeing are historically, geographically, culturally and socially specific,”¹³⁹ and contextual information about the environments in which these particular adverts appeared is readily available to an English-speaking researcher. Limiting the scope allows for more in-depth analysis of advertisements that appeared within these specific contexts.

Reading Advertisements through Different Lenses

As an interdisciplinary work, this thesis draws variously on approaches and scholarship from media studies, literary studies, cultural history, and cultural geography. Its primary methods draw from the humanities rather than the social sciences, placing an emphasis on close readings of selected advertisements and other cultural products featuring Antarctica. These are contextualised within the broader world of commerce, exploration narratives, sponsorship, and contemporary events. Williamson’s paper “Unfreezing the Truth: Knowledge and

¹³⁸ Leiss, Kline, Jhally and Botterill, “Social Communication in Advertising,” 780.

¹³⁹ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 12.

Denial in Climate Change Imagery” (2010) which draws from the approach outlined in her seminal work *Decoding Advertisements* (1978), provides a model for the approach taken here in regard to Antarctica (although the historical span is broader).¹⁴⁰ Williamson follows a close textual analysis model familiar to literary studies scholars, examining selected case studies in detail. She did not take a random sample, but rather chose as case studies advertisements that best illustrated her argument. While the claims made in this thesis are based on the large set of examples collected in the Appendix, it too uses case studies to draw out and critique particular framings of Antarctica that emerge from this set. Williamson also considers how her chosen advertising images are constructed in relation to other images. She notes

There have been periods in the history of our society when artificial was not a pejorative word as it is today; and when “natural” did not have the bundle of positive connotations which characterize it now.¹⁴¹

It is therefore important to pay attention to both texts and the context in which they were produced.

This thesis contextualises advertisements and other commercial cultural products within both media and Antarctic history, in order to situate the reading and provide the background needed to analyse each text effectively. Images and media messages “do not exist in a vacuum”¹⁴² – instead, they are produced within specific social, historical, economic, political, and aesthetic contexts.¹⁴³ As Carvalho explains, the historical–diachronic approach involves “examining the course of social matters and their wider political, social and economic context” and exploring “the temporal evolution of media(ted) discourses.”¹⁴⁴ When it comes to analysing advertising material, this is a relatively novel method; when Leiss et al adopted a historical approach in *Social Communication in Advertising: Consumption in the Mediated Marketplace* (2005) they noted that such an

¹⁴⁰ Williamson, “Unfreezing the Truth.”

¹⁴¹ Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements*, 71.

¹⁴² Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 39

¹⁴³ Hobbs, “The Seven Great Debates,” 18.

¹⁴⁴ Carvalho, “Media(ted) Discourse and Society,” 172.

approach “had been largely neglected in the advertising field.”¹⁴⁵ In fact, it is a particularly useful method to apply when working with a large body of texts because, as Dali puts it, “diachronic analysis enables us to trace values and perceptions”¹⁴⁶ in a similar way that an archaeologist might examine a series of relics from different periods. An advertisement is seen as a cultural artifact, or a reflection of elements from the daily culture that can aid the researcher “in extrapolating values and ideologies from a particular era.”¹⁴⁷ By acknowledging that language and imagery can take on different connotations at different points in time, then contextualising each advertisement in the time and culture in which it was first produced, the scope for inappropriately imposing contemporary values on a historical text is decreased, and the analysis can become more nuanced.

When analysing advertisements, one can study contexts, texts, or audiences.¹⁴⁸ These categories correspond to the three sites at which meaning is made, as outlined by Gillian Rose: the site of production, the image, and the audience.¹⁴⁹ As a project with its roots in the close reading methods of literary studies, this thesis focuses on the site of the image itself, rather than the work of the producer or the end consumer. Advertisements are approached as texts to be analysed using a variety of tools; for the purposes of this project, ‘text’ refers to an advertisement in its entirety, including visual and verbal elements.¹⁵⁰ When examining the advertising text, the modalities to consider are technological, compositional, and social.¹⁵¹ Technological and social modalities play a part in contextualising the advert, and reminding the viewer “both what is seen and how it is seen are culturally constructed.”¹⁵² The compositional modality relates to the visual construction and the qualities of the image (including any written text), which will be the focus in this study. At this stage it is worth noting that, as

¹⁴⁵ Leiss, Kline, Jhally and Botterill. “Social Communication in Advertising,” 161.

¹⁴⁶ Dali, “Advertising as a Semiotic System of Space,” 339.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 340.

¹⁴⁸ O’Shaughnessy and Stadler. *Media and Society*.

¹⁴⁹ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 257.

¹⁵⁰ Berger, *Media Analysis Techniques*. “In scholarly discourse about works of art of all kinds, the subjects of analysis are generally referred to as *texts*” Ibid., 166.

¹⁵¹ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 258.

¹⁵² Ibid., 2.

McQuarrie and Phillips put it, “rhetoric studies the ads, while psychology studies the consumer.”¹⁵³ While the effects of any advertisement will “intersect with the social context of viewing,”¹⁵⁴ analysing audience responses to advertisements would be another project altogether, and one more suited to a scholar with a psychology or social sciences background. The advertisements collected for this project provide a rich dataset for future investigations from a variety of disciplinary approaches.

I examine advertisements on both a denotative and connotative level, in order to shed light on the layered, and at times contradictory, meanings contained in each. First, I created a comprehensive description of what could be seen and how it was laid out on the page in each advertisement, following Rose’s model of “compositional interpretation.”¹⁵⁵ Composition, colour, content, point of view, layout, similarities to other images, spatial organization, visual absences, textual/visual puns or puzzles, and calligraphy were all considered. Given that “both codes of technical representation and codes of content need to be considered when doing textual analysis of any image,”¹⁵⁶ I also analysed technical elements such as camera angle, framing, focus, colour and lighting for their contribution to the overall effect of each advertisement. Contextualising each case study advertisement then allowed me to scrutinise inferred and figurative meanings. If denotation involves describing image contents, connotation is “something that the viewer or audience perceives in an image” at either a personal or a *cultural* level.¹⁵⁷ The same imagery can therefore carry very different connotations over time, a phenomenon explored in detail in Chapter 6 (see Figure 7.2). Symbolic association “brings the product into a meaningful relationship with abstract values and ideas,”¹⁵⁸ employing tools such as metaphor, allegory, juxtaposition, and storyline to do so. Arthur Asa Berger explains how “people carry codes around in their heads”¹⁵⁹ and can thus

¹⁵³ McQuarrie and Phillips, *Go Figure!* 10.

¹⁵⁴ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 12.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 35

¹⁵⁶ O’Shaughnessy and Stadler. *Media and Society*, 85.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁵⁸ Leiss, Kline, Jhally and Botterill. “Social Communication in Advertising,” 179.

¹⁵⁹ Berger, *Media Analysis Techniques*, 29.

interpret these modes of metonymic and symbolic communication; they see things in relation to each other, with reference to past experience,¹⁶⁰ and draw upon their existing ways of framing the world in order to make sense of new situations.

Brand Antarctica: A Continent Narrated, Framed, and Experienced

There are numerous ways to structure a study that covers a period of over one hundred years and looks at examples drawn from a databank of five hundred examples. Here, the emphasis is on historical context and thematic coherence, in order to make the analysis both relevant and accessible. The thesis is divided into three sections, outlined in more detail below, with the first examining the relationship of exploration, narrative and commercial sponsorship that informed the initial use of Antarctica in advertising. Four thematic chapters then identify broad cultural frames that both inform and are produced by Antarctic advertisements. In each, advertisements are used to reveal the ways in which Antarctica has been viewed, and to track how these perspectives have shifted over time. Finally, the topic of tourism signals a return to the materiality of Antarctica, with echoes of previous themes present in promotional material for ‘the trip of a lifetime.’

Exploration, Sponsorship, and Narrative

Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis focus on the relationship between Heroic Era explorers and the media, and Admiral Byrd and the media, respectively. The exploration of inland Antarctica happened at a time when the world was getting smaller as a result of both geographical discoveries and more easily accessible information and news. News was also starting to be in demand, and to be traded as a commodity; in the case of Carsten Borchgrevink’s *Southern Cross* expedition, that commodity was valuable enough that newspaper baron, George Newnes,

¹⁶⁰ Tannen, *Framing in Discourse*, 20.

financed the entire endeavour.¹⁶¹ The first of this pair of chapters outlines how the modern media landscape emerged, tracks shifts in advertising practice, analyses Newnes's role in Antarctic exploration, and asks why the 'race to the pole' trope has continued to carry high news value. The second focuses specifically on US aviator and explorer, Richard E. Byrd, the quintessential explorer-showman. It asks how the 'hero business' functioned in the 1920s and 1930s, discusses the role of radio in advertising during this period, and presents a series of advertisements related to sponsorship of Byrd's second expedition, including several relating to his south polar dairy. Finally, Chapter 2 provides a close reading of *Bird Life at the Pole*, a satirical novel based on the media-induced exploits of several early polar expeditioners, including Byrd, and uses this to reveal the overtly commercial nature of exploration, and the way such elements were parodied at the time. Analysing the extent to which media was involved in early Antarctic expeditions, and examining how photography, ghostwriting, and exclusive media contracts were all used for commercial purposes in the south polar context, provides the context for the analysis of Antarctic advertisements throughout the rest of the thesis.

Framing Antarctica

A central finding of this thesis is that advertisements featuring Antarctica reveal a series of cultural framings of the region, namely: heroism, extremity, purity, fragility, and transformation. These frames are not exhaustive, nor are they exclusive. Rather, they offer a loosely chronological way of understanding how and why Antarctica has been valued at different points in time. Framing involves both selection and audience; as Robert Entmann puts it, "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text."¹⁶² By bringing particular aspects to the fore and presenting information in a particular way, a topic or problem can be defined in quite different ways, and a range of causal interpretations can be ascribed to a

¹⁶¹ Borchgrevink, *First on the Antarctic Continent*.

¹⁶² Entmann, "Framing," 52.

situation. Frame analysis is used widely in media research and specifically in advertising research – mostly, but not exclusively, to analyse political impact. It creates an understanding of how organisations – including the advertising industry – define and construct messages. Yet framing also operates on an individual level. Karen Johnson-Cartee writes how “individuals store social interactions as a series of frames to be accessed in the future” and use these “as a tool to help them better comprehend and respond to other social situations.”¹⁶³ This is also true of interactions – be they physical or imagined – with the Antarctic continent. Johnson-Cartee goes on to argue that

condensational symbols are a shorthand means by which large numbers of beliefs, feelings, values, and perhaps world views are telegraphed to others sharing a similar culture.¹⁶⁴

This thesis examines the condensational symbols that have been associated with Antarctica, and explicitly links them to five dominant ways of thinking about the far south. Each frame is explored in depth, and the abstract qualities and values that have been associated with Antarctica are rendered visible through textual analysis of the case study advertisements.

During a 1998 address in Christchurch, New Zealand, Kevin Roberts of Saatchi & Saatchi outlined a series of brand values for Antarctica. The list included terms such as clean, untouched, pure, beauty, extreme, ‘the last frontier’, hope, penguins, and ‘World Peace’.¹⁶⁵ He claimed such values “present a product which is relevant to today’s consumer, and they support a wider code of positive Antarctic values which encourage responsible use of the continent.”¹⁶⁶ However, responsible use of the continent is but one way Antarctica has been framed over the course of its human history; it has also been seen as a place for profit, a place for heroes, a place for testing men and machines, and a place that changes people. The second part of this thesis (Chapters 3–6) presents a range of framings that have been recurrent in Antarctic advertising, and links these to

¹⁶³ Johnson-Cartee, *News Narratives and Framings*, 161.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 167.

¹⁶⁵ Roberts, “Antarctica – Anything is Possible.” The other terms used were adventure, mystery, hope, deep time, infinite possibility, aliens, wisdom, and “The last stand – a chance to rectify the mistakes we’ve made elsewhere.”

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

many of Roberts' brand values through in-depth analysis of key advertisements. Each chapter also provides context about activities in the Antarctic during a particular period, along with a brief overview of contemporary advertising history. While the chapter headings in this thesis are by no means exhaustive, they do represent important recurrent tropes about the far south that have appeared in other forms of cultural production.¹⁶⁷ Heroism, extremity, purity, fragility, and transformation all offer different ways of theorizing and interacting with the far south. The thematic frames examined follow a loosely chronological trajectory, but are not limited to particular periods in time. Instead, as new framings have emerged they have added a further layer to existing ways of conceptualising Antarctica.

The first of the thematic chapters addresses heroism, a theme that has been entwined with the Antarctic ever since the Heroic Era of exploration (1895–1922). These days scientists and support staff from a range of backgrounds live and work in the Antarctic, yet “Edwardian explorers remain the dominant human face of Antarctica.”¹⁶⁸ Those explorers – including Shackleton, Scott and Roald Amundsen – have worn the badge of ‘hero’ at various points in time, and been ignored or denigrated at others, precisely because the definition of a hero is culturally dependent. Analysis of Antarctic heroes can therefore reveal much more about a society – and how it thinks about Antarctica as a place – than the hero figures themselves. This chapter examines the various uses of the term ‘hero’, asking how it has been deployed in the Antarctic advertising context at different points in time. Early examples show Antarctic explorers providing endorsements for products they used in the far south, while contemporary advertisements have heroic associations in order to create an imagined link with the continent. Such associations can be capitalised on directly, or treated with ironic distance; the chapter includes examples of more recent advertisements that explicitly make the viewer aware of a disconnect between the sepia ‘Antarctic hero’ and the Antarticans of today. While advertisements have moved from the endorsement format to employing the *idea* of a hero, the very concept

¹⁶⁷ Leane, *Antarctica in Fiction*.

¹⁶⁸ Van der Watt and Swart, “The Whiteness of Antarctica,” 136.

remains valuable in its many forms. The selection of material analysed in this chapter therefore engages with Antarctica and Antarctic 'heroes' in a range of ways, revealing the mutable character and continuing potency of the heroism theme.

The heroism theme has close links to extremity; where the former sees man pitted against nature, in the latter case it is machinery that proves its tough credentials through interactions with the ice. This framing casts Antarctica as the ultimate testing ground: as the coldest, highest, windiest, driest continent, it is a place for firsts, and for superior performance. Extremity lends itself well to endorsements that suggest a product used in Antarctica will work anywhere – a number of watch makers, clothing companies, outdoor equipment labels and producers of building materials have employed this technique. Vehicle manufacturers have also used Antarctica's association with the extreme in order to prove the quality of their cars; the Hyundai *Endurance* expedition that had Shackleton's great grandson drive across Antarctica in the 2016/17 summer¹⁶⁹ is but one example in a long line of vehicular 'firsts'.¹⁷⁰ Many of the advertisements examined in this extremity section continue to feature men, and to associate the idea of extremity with that of masculinity. This is partly a function of the kinds of products being advertised – including watches – and also reflects what Paul Gilchrist has described as "the popular coupling of manhood and mountain conquest."¹⁷¹ Extremity also appears in more nuanced incarnations, whenever Antarctica is figured as an absence or as a final frontier. Antarctica may be a continent of superlatives – highest, driest, windiest – but it is also a continent of associations, and the extremity frame is not limited to products that are present in Antarctic. Rather, the concept can be applied to other products and brands, simply by invoking Antarctic imagery and calling upon the associated theme.

The purity frame casts Antarctica as an untouched wilderness, rather than a place for people and machinery. Interestingly, this theme emerges most often in

¹⁶⁹ Hyundai, "Shackleton Returns."

¹⁷⁰ Further examples, including a VW advertising campaign from the 1960s, are discussed at length in the Chapter 4.

¹⁷¹ Gilchrist, "Gender and British Climbing Histories," 224.

advertisements for products that actually come from Antarctica (such as krill oil). Such imagery and associations can be problematic and ironic, given that the product is taken out of the 'pristine' environment that is used in its marketing. Examples analysed in this chapter include advertisements for soap, alcohol and health products. In some cases, the idea of purity is foregrounded, bringing with it natural connotations. In other instances – particularly in earlier advertisements – the related idea of 'cleanliness' (and its domestic associations) is used instead. Antarctica's unique history makes it an easy place to paint as clean – unlike other parts of the globe it has no indigenous people, nor a war history.¹⁷² The process of bioprospecting is one recent example that is discussed, in light of advertisements featuring extremophiles from the Antarctic. Invisible influences are also at play; anthropogenic traces can be read in layers of Antarctic ice that were laid down long before any human set foot on the continent's interior. This chapter explores the cultural connotations of the purity theme, linking these to discourses about wilderness and science, and setting them against the backdrop of instruments designed to protect Antarctica. The rhetoric around Antarctica and purity offers productive ground for both marketing and analysis; whether Antarctica really remains clean and untouched by human influence is a different question.

Antarctica has also been represented as a fragile environment threatened by anthropogenic climate change. Speaking in 2010, Williamson noted that "we have a very specific and limited repertoire of imagery currently at our command to signify 'climate change'"¹⁷³ – this includes penguins, polar bears, glaciers, icescapes, and calving ice. The advent of climate change has also affected the way Antarctica has been viewed. The fragility frame presents Antarctica as a symbol of vulnerability – of an environment that needs saving – and the implication is that by consuming the product in question, consumers will be helping to preserve that environment. Whether or not the suggested associations between

¹⁷² The exception is the conflict between the UK and Argentina over the Falkland Islands/Malvinas, which culminated in a war in 1982. Military motivations have also driven nations to establish a presence in Antarctica, with Operation Tabarin a notable example. Haddelsey, *Operation Tabarin*.

¹⁷³ Williamson, "Unfreezing the Truth."

the brand and environmentally friendly practices are legitimate is beside the point: what is important is the presence of the thematic link. Williamson has described this 'ice-washing' phenomenon, remarking that the mere presence of polar imagery has come to suggest a commodity is "climate friendly," and that such connotations make a product more attractive to environmentally conscious consumers.¹⁷⁴ Antarctica may be located at the end of the earth, but we are coming to realise that our whole world is driven by an interconnected system. The fact that this idea is emerging in advertisements indicates that it is already in common cultural circulation, as advertisements seek to capitalise on existing cultural connections rather than creating new paradigms.

Views from the South

The final chapter in this thesis returns to Antarctica itself, approaching the continent as a destination. Thanks to Antarctic tourism, seals and whales are of interest once again – not for commercial harvest, but as wildlife to observe in the context of the 'wilderness' of the Antarctic continent. An overview of the Antarctic tourism industry leads into a discussion of how the tourist experience is advertised. Although much academic scholarship has looked at polar – Arctic and Antarctic – tourism, the advertising of the tourism product has not been the focus. Upon examining promotional material for such voyages, I found that several of the themes from the previous chapters – heroism, extremity, purity – have also been deployed to sell Antarctica as a destination. Whether people wish to follow in the footsteps of their heroes, participate in extreme sports in the far south or photograph untouched landscapes, there is a tour on offer to fit the bill.

The second part of Chapter 7 turns to the theme of transformation. It explores the way the journey to Antarctica can function as a metaphor, turning an Antarctic voyage into a transformational experience. Antarctica has been used as a proxy for a number of personal challenges – from stage fright to battles with breast cancer – so the *idea* of Antarctica as a place for transformation has been

¹⁷⁴ Williamson, "Feature Guest."

put to use in various situations, far from the ice itself. Finally, the mundane tasks of everyday life are transported to the far south, as Antarctica is presented as a workplace. The narratives present in job postings for National Antarctic Programmes were examined in order to understand how Antarctica has been framed as a working environment in recent times. Taken together, the advertisements in this final section illustrate a range of ways of interacting with and conceptualising the far south.

Antarctica: Not For Sale?

Once known as *Terra Australis Incognita* and imagined but never seen, Antarctica is now very much part of the global environmental and economic system. It has been surveilled, theorised, modeled, photographed, and used as a symbol for many causes. As the following chapters demonstrate, Antarctica is more accessible to a wider audience – physically and imaginatively – than ever before. And the cultural meanings that are mapped across the white expanse matter, both because of what they reveal and what they occlude. The human history of Antarctica includes elements of harvest – from sealing and whaling to krill oil and icebergs – but it did not end with the closure of sealing and whaling grounds, nor with the provisions introduced in the 1991 Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty (the Madrid Protocol). Instead, the continent is put to work as a symbolic force through advertising, where it is used as shorthand to call upon a range of thematic associations.

Antarctica will continue to be depicted in advertising material; as Tungate puts it, “as long as somebody has something to sell, adland will always have a place on the map.”¹⁷⁵ If this study were repeated at a future time, it would likely reveal new frames and tropes, based on new Antarctic advertisements and the world-views they reflect. As long as Antarctica continues to be regarded as an alluring place for the imagination, it will continue to inhabit the fringes of that map of ‘adland,’ providing ongoing insights into our relationship with the southernmost

¹⁷⁵ Tungate, *Adland*, 252.

reaches of the planet. Analysis of the advertisements in the following chapters reveals that Antarctica is, and has always been, very much 'for sale.'

Exploration, Narrative, and Sponsorship

Chapter 1 – Selling the Story: Media, Sponsorship and Exploration

Antarctica has long been for sale as a storied place. Ever since the first land-based expeditions of the Heroic Era (1895–1922), explorers have marketed their plans through lectures, newspaper articles, publishing deals, and sponsorship pitches. Many of those expeditions depended for their very existence on successfully selling their prospective stories in advance – if deals were not made and funds were not found, the expeditions could not go ahead. As explorers visited various parts of the southern continent for the first time, their exploits appeared in news publications all over the world and became the founding narratives of the place. Addressing the official accounts of expeditions, Leane writes that “while the Heroic Era explorers are stereotypically known as men of action, it was equally important that they be men who produced ... representations.”¹⁷⁶ Those representations then appeared in books, newspapers and magazines, meaning that the Heroic Era of Antarctic exploration played out both across the white expanses of the south and the pages of the press back home.

This chapter outlines the media landscape in which the first land-based Antarctic expeditions took place, and the ways in which explorers interacted with the industry. Media, exploration and advertising have long been intertwined, and the connections are particularly clear when examining Antarctic examples. In many instances, expeditions were sponsored by media outlets, and explorers fed narratives back to the press; this in turn lifted readership numbers and made advertising space more valuable. The emergence of the modern media landscape, and the ways both early explorers and advertisers used it to their advantage, is an important background to understanding the ways in which we think about Antarctica today. Situating early polar expeditions within the home-based

¹⁷⁶ Leane, “Introduction,” 151.

context of 'New Journalism,'¹⁷⁷ press barons, and an ever-shrinking world, this chapter examines both media deals and early advertisements in order to understand the way commercial imperatives influenced expedition narratives. The exploration of Antarctica happened at a time when the world was getting smaller as a result of both geographical discoveries and more easily accessible information and news.¹⁷⁸ At the time Antarctica was becoming accessible to explorers, news was already in demand as a cultural mediator. Rising literacy rates and the abolition of a range of taxes, such as stamp duty,¹⁷⁹ meant there were large audiences eager for fresh copy. It is during this period, and primarily in the pages of newspapers, that the narratives of polar exploration that continue to haunt Antarctica were born, and transformed from story to myth. In this way, the tropes of Antarctica – such as heroism, extremity and wilderness – were being solidified, even as the original narratives of the continent were coming into being.

Various scholars have examined the links between specific Antarctic expedition narratives and the media in depth: Lewander has written on Nordenskjöld's *Antarctic* expedition, Robert Matuoizzi on Byrd's expeditions of the 1930s, Innes Keighren on the *Scottish National Antarctic Expedition*, and Simon Nasht on Hubert Wilkins' activities at both poles.¹⁸⁰ The expedition narratives of men such as Scott and Shackleton have formed the basis of many historical studies. However, little of this existing work focuses on the relationship between funding, commerce and narrative. Analysing the links between these elements is vital to understanding the links between the media and the expeditions. This chapter builds on existing case studies, using examples from a range of contemporary publications in order to create an overview of the relationship between the media, funding streams, and Antarctic exploration.

¹⁷⁷ Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*. "The term 'New Journalism' refers to a set of typographical and textual innovations that transformed the press in the late nineteenth century." Ibid., 443.

¹⁷⁸ Geographer David Harvey's term "time-space compression" is particularly relevant throughout the Heroic Era of Antarctic exploration. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 284.

¹⁷⁹ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism*, 9.

¹⁸⁰ Lewander, "The Representations of the Swedish Antarctic Expedition,"; Matuoizzi, "Richard Byrd,"; Nasht, *The Last Great Explorer*. Riffenburgh's Arctic-focussed book *The Myth of the Explorer* (1993) also provides a useful model.

The relationship between early explorers and the press performed an important role in shaping the way we think about Antarctica. Indeed, according to Matuozzi, “The popular history of polar exploration is in large part the story of its promotion in the mass media.”¹⁸¹ Fame was a product not only of the feats that explorers could achieve, but the way those feats were later sold to the public,¹⁸² a situation that leads James Ryan to conclude that “explorers, press, publishers and societies of science and empire all played a part in fermenting a complex ‘culture of exploration’.”¹⁸³ As I have previously argued, geographical exploration became “dramatised in order to appeal to a wider audience.”¹⁸⁴ As explorers became celebrities, their “expeditions became carefully orchestrated narratives structured to maximize publicity and dramatic appeal.”¹⁸⁵ George Newnes, William Randolph Hearst and other press barons not only both benefitted from the ‘hero business’ – they actively helped to create it. As polar exploration narratives reached home, “they were marketed by an existing media industry that was hungry for new content, both textual and visual.”¹⁸⁶ Narratives of south polar exploration appeared in newspapers and magazines, and it was in the pages of the same publications that the first Antarctic advertisements also appeared.

Shifting Media Landscape in a Shrinking World

In the lead-up to the twentieth century, two competing concepts of the press were evident.¹⁸⁷ On the one hand there was the idea of a ‘Fourth Estate’ where running a newspaper was “a form of public service and journalists a species of public philosopher,” but on the other hand there were those who saw “the press

¹⁸¹ Matuozzi, “Richard Byrd,” 210.

¹⁸² Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 189.

¹⁸³ Ryan, *Photography and Exploration*, 8.

¹⁸⁴ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 189.

¹⁸⁵ Matuozzi, “Richard Byrd,” 210.

¹⁸⁶ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 189.

¹⁸⁷ Lee, “The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press,” 118.

as an industry” and journalism as a craft.¹⁸⁸ The abolishment of several taxes was instrumental in driving the shift towards the latter. The removal of advertising duty (1853), stamp duty (1855) and paper duty (1861) in Great Britain all contributed to the rise in the number of newspapers and magazines on the market, but the most major change occurred in 1866, when the Companies Act was introduced.¹⁸⁹ This act made forming joint-stock companies much easier, and over the following fifty years, more than 4,000 newspaper companies were founded in both England and Wales.¹⁹⁰ Reflecting on this change, Alan Lee writes that the odds were stacked strongly towards industry, and that “they were stacked precisely by the force of technological change and the expanding market which the repeal of the taxes had allowed full rein.”¹⁹¹ As it became easier to establish a newspaper, news came to be seen as more of a commodity to be traded, and advertising space in the publications became ever more valuable.

At the dawn of the Heroic Era there was huge public interest in exploration, and “newspapers strove to meet an almost insatiable demand for coverage.”¹⁹² Technological advances in printing and transport made it easier to disseminate news further away, at a faster rate. The British press had focussed on exploration as part of Empire building, and the notion of an Empire that reached right around the globe combined with the speed of news to make the world seem smaller. Martin Conboy outlines how this impression was reflected in the papers themselves: “The rapidity of social and technological change allowed the new popular daily newspapers to articulate the late nineteenth-century awareness of a shrinking world.”¹⁹³ Increased literacy rates following the reduction of the stamp duty helped to fuel readership numbers both locally and in colonies elsewhere. Reading the same news as peers in geographically distant places also helped to create a sense of coherence and belonging, reassuring readers that “the imagined world” beyond their own experience was “visibly rooted in everyday

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 118.

¹⁸⁹ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism*, 19.

¹⁹⁰ Lee, “The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press,” 125.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 118.

¹⁹² Wilson, *The Lost Photographs of Captain Scott*, 19.

¹⁹³ Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture*, 107.

life.”¹⁹⁴ People were reading the same news at approximately the same time,¹⁹⁵ and imagining the same scenes and events taking place. This means that the shift in media distribution also led to a shift in the way readers thought of their own relationships with one another, and with the most remote corners of the earth.

The late nineteenth century heralded the rise in New Journalism, a style that spread from the Penny Press of the USA to the Sunday Papers in Britain. British New Journalism put the emphasis on sensationalism, multi-line headlines, increased use of imagery, and adopting a familiar tone with readers. It brought features such as display advertising, human interest, summary leads and front-page news to a daily readership, presenting them in a way that was “more broadly accessible and therefore more profitable.”¹⁹⁶ Lee describes the “mixture of journalistic and typographical devices” that made up the New Journalism of the 1880s as “a new style of journalism, a style which reflected a changing relationship between the newspaper and its readers.”¹⁹⁷ The press baron Alfred Harmsworth – later Lord Northcliffe – was instrumental in bringing about this change. Convinced that a newspaper should amuse and entertain, not simply inform, he strove to “design a newspaper around readers’ tastes.”¹⁹⁸ Along with extensive use of imagery, campaigns and crusades were one tactic used to engage the reading public. Jean Chalaby categorises these crusades as social (relating to issues such as poverty or child abuse); jingo (with overt imperial overtones); and stunt (other issues of minor importance but great public interest).¹⁹⁹ All were attention-grabbing, as Northcliffe saw this a precursor to successfully selling a publication.

Tactics of crusade and sensationalism were also employed by other contemporary publishers and editors, including Newnes²⁰⁰ and W.T. Stead. Stead

¹⁹⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 39.

¹⁹⁵ In terms of British colonies, it could take weeks for the news to reach more far-flung places. Nevertheless, it was still the same news read by those back home, enhancing a sense of community.

¹⁹⁶ Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers*, 112.

¹⁹⁷ Lee, “The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press,” 120.

¹⁹⁸ Chalaby, “Smiling Pictures,” 41.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁰⁰ Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers*, 106.

was a leader of New Journalism, introducing scoops, political cartoons, and investigative journalism to the *Pall Mall Gazette* whilst editor of the publication (1883–1890).²⁰¹ In 1885 he famously bought the 13-year-old Liza Armstrong from her mother for £5 to prove it could be done, then wrote about the illicit situation in the article “Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon.”²⁰² Such immersive journalism is one example of New Journalism’s move towards correspondents and single authorities, rather than the anonymous writers of earlier publications.²⁰³ This shift from seemingly hard facts to a more obviously subjective voice also made journalism more amenable to personal stories of exploration. As Ryan puts it, “The figure of the explorer assumed its most potent form in the second half of the nineteenth century,”²⁰⁴ when audiences were hungry for stories of “national heroes struggling against nature in remote and dangerous places.”²⁰⁵ One of the main criteria for starring in a sensational plot was to claim a ‘first’, so, as Edward Larson articulates in *An Empire of Ice*, “geography was a cut-throat enterprise in late Victorian Britain.”²⁰⁶ The polar regions, then, provided a perfect setting for compelling and sensational tales of exploration.²⁰⁷

The media landscape was also increasingly competitive. Mergers between journals were “a constant feature of the nineteenth-century press,”²⁰⁸ but the late nineteenth to early twentieth century saw power being consolidated into the hands of so-called “press barons” such as Lord Northcliffe, Max Aitken (Lord Beaverbrook) and Newnes. Prior to the 1880s, “a printer, printing family or joint stock company had ownership of a single paper.”²⁰⁹ By the end of the nineteenth century, news syndicates made up of “whole groups of papers and periodicals” were being formed around individual businessmen, leading to stiff competition

²⁰¹ Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer*, 97.

²⁰² Stead, “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon.”

²⁰³ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism*, 44.

²⁰⁴ Ryan, *Photography and Exploration*, 8.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

²⁰⁶ Larson, *An Empire of Ice*, 47.

²⁰⁷ Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer*, 106. Riffenburgh examines the North, noting that the Greely expedition of 1881–1884 “included virtually everything the American public craved: hardship, scurvy, a farthest north, a desperate retreat by boat and sledge, three winter ordeals, suicide, insanity, and death.” *Ibid.*, 106.

²⁰⁸ Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 409.

²⁰⁹ Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 205.

for lead stories between these different news empires. The result of changes such as centralised production, syndication, and a more personal relationship between readers and journalists was that the popular newspaper evolved into a “highly capitalized market product for a separated ‘mass’ readership.”²¹⁰

Imaging and Advertising: Commercial Media Reaching New Eyes

Advances in photography precipitated another important change. Established publications such as the *Illustrated London News* (founded 1850) had already been using engravings in order to make far-flung parts of the world more visible to everyday people, and consumers soon gained an appetite for such imagery. Up until 1920, it was uncommon for photographs to appear in daily newspapers.²¹¹ This made photographs a point of difference for the magazines and weekly papers that embraced the visual element early on. At the turn of the twentieth century, the two-tone printing process allowed photographs to be economically printed onto newsprint, so photographs began to appear in select weekly illustrated magazines. These publications were targeted at a mass market and often sold below cost, relying on advertising revenue to make them viable; Newnes’s *Tit-Bits* is a well-known example. The decision to make photographs central to the new magazines was a risk, as it entailed great expense, but ultimately the new layout attracted a much wider audience.²¹² This led to the development of a variety of publications aimed at different groups within the society, resulting in “distinct levels of seriousness within the daily press.”²¹³ Those levels ranged from the penny papers through to the evening publications and Sunday illustrated magazines, giving publishers access to a wide cross-section of society. Advertisers then made use of these channels to reach potential consumers. Imagery came to play an important role in both advertising and

²¹⁰ Williams, “The Press and Popular Culture,” 49.

²¹¹ Becker, “Photojournalism and the Tabloid Press,” 135. Tabloids were the exception.

²¹² Beare, *Index to the Strand Magazine*. Beare argues that “It was Newnes who decided that illustrations were of prime importance in the new magazine despite the difficulties and expense involved.” *Ibid.*, xii.

²¹³ Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 195.

publications in the early twentieth century, and Antarctic photographs were amongst the stable of images from the beginning.

During this period there was also a shift in the way advertising was conceptualised. Advertising incrementally drove “the commercial expansion of newspapers”²¹⁴ throughout the eighteenth century, with front pages dominated by advertisements becoming the fashion. It was against this trend that the New Journalism reacted, with front-page news the novelty. Advertisements remained an ever more important funding source for publications, however, and by the late 1890s there was no refuting that “advertising had emerged as the central cultural form of commodity capitalism.”²¹⁵ As Raymond Williams explains, methods of advertising and systems of selling space changed dramatically, from the “old eighteenth-century shops that ‘took in’ newspaper announcements” to the emergence of “full-scale independent advertising agencies.”²¹⁶ While the advertising industry was not mainstream until after World War II, by the early twentieth century the job market was changing, as newspapers began employing advertising managers in full-time roles. These managers often “advanced very rapidly from junior to senior status.”²¹⁷ Newspaper owners such as Beaverbrook, Newnes and Northcliffe saw this shift as an opportunity to capitalise and to grow their own circulation, and, as Karin Becker points out, “with industrialization and the shift to a market economy, advertising began to provide significant support for the weekly press.”²¹⁸

Advertisements were not only aimed at readers of the magazines, but at potential advertisers themselves.²¹⁹ The November 1913 issue of Newnes’s *The Strand Magazine* addresses the role of advertising directly in a one-page in-house promotion, entitled “What’s in an Advertisement?”²²⁰ The answer,

²¹⁴ Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers*, 48.

²¹⁵ McClintock, “Soft-Soaping Empire,” 752.

²¹⁶ Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 201.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 201.

²¹⁸ Becker, “Photojournalism and the Tabloid Press,” 132.

²¹⁹ *The Strand Magazine* Volume 46, No. 275, November 1913. 13. The advertisement text read “The leading advertisers who use “The Strand Magazine” also advertise in The Daily News & Leader because it appeals to the same high-class, discriminating, and responsive public.”

²²⁰ “What’s in an Advertisement?” *The Strand Magazine*, Volume 46, No. 275, November 1913. 26.

according to the piece, is that “there is more *real* news to interest you concerning commerce than in the whole of the Social and Political world together.” This promotional piece, aimed at potential advertisers as much as the general readership, touts advertisements as being “representative of ‘everyone that matters’.”²²¹ They are not to be skipped over lightly, but form an important part of the publication itself: “To read them is an entertainment and an education, for if it does nothing else it helps you to get the soundest value for your daily expenditure.”²²² The same issue of *The Strand Magazine* carried two advertisements that referenced Scott’s *Terra Nova* expedition (Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3) – those companies certainly believed their advertisements contained news and narratives that would interest readers.

Advertorials were not the only way of attracting advertisers, and, therefore, revenue. In the lead up to the twentieth century, newspaper owners and publishers began to use aggressive sales tactics to boost their own popularity and therefore value for advertisers, and “the circulation of their periodicals was deliberately built up by advertising stunts.”²²³ Newnes famously offered free insurance with readership, while other newspapers offered gambling-style incentives such as “sovereign treasure-hunts [or] £1 a week for life for winning a guessing competition.”²²⁴ The aim was to increase readership numbers, even if it meant initially running at a loss. As titles became more popular and newspaper barons became more powerful, the space in their publications became both more valuable and more sought after. Advertising revenue became “a capital factor” in the investment required to set up new newspapers and add to a publisher’s stable.²²⁵ By the turn of the twentieth century, the modern advertising industry, which was soon to create the first Antarctic advertisements, had been born.

²²¹ Ibid., 26.

²²² Ibid., 26.

²²³ Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 203.

²²⁴ Ibid., 203.

²²⁵ Ibid., 202.

Media, Exploration and the Polar Regions

Antarctic exploration was happening alongside these developments in the media and advertising industries. Stories from the far south were a valuable commodity, both in written and visual format. Unlike the first imperial explorers in Africa and Australia, early Antarctic explorers had the benefit of photography to help them tell their stories of exploration.²²⁶ The first land-based Antarctic expeditions occurred at the same time as the invention of cinema and after the invention of still photography. Humans have therefore never known a time when their interaction with Antarctica could not be conveyed by camera or film. Indeed, photographic equipment was taken south on every expedition, from Borchgrevink's *Southern Cross* onwards, and several expeditions took dedicated professional photographers and cameramen. Herbert Ponting travelled south with Scott, while Australian expedition leader Douglas Mawson and Shackleton both employed the "camera artist" Frank Hurley to record their expeditions.²²⁷ The leaders were well aware that photography was valuable "not only as a scientific record of a new environment, but also as a means of promoting and generating funds."²²⁸ At times the harsh conditions – and the lack of visual features on the white landscape – limited the use of the new technology, but the images that were successful were soon circulated widely, creating a scaffold on which the public could build their own imagined versions of Antarctica. The media played an important role in this process of dissemination, distributing written and visual narratives of the heroes and their men.

Exploring was a serious vocation in the early twentieth century, and anyone who embraced it needed to carefully guard the public perception of the expedition, whether planned, in-progress or completed. Drawing on his own experiences exploring the Gobi desert in the 1920s, Roy Chapman Andrews advises his

²²⁶ Photographs appeared both in newspaper and magazine articles, and as lantern slides in illustrated lectures. While images had accompanied expeditions since early in the 19th century when the London Illustrated News published lavish pull-out illustrations, photography represented a new medium.

²²⁷ McKernan, "The Great White Silence," 9. The photographers were valuable in their own right. Shackleton was offered funds in exchange for photographic and press coverage rights, provided that Hurley was the photographer.

²²⁸ Leane and Nicol, "Filming the Frozen South," 129.

readers “Publicity is a valuable asset, of course. Also it may be very dangerous.”²²⁹ Explorers had to take care not to saturate their audiences with over-publicity to the point of boredom, whilst still ensuring the public were well informed about the latest expedition. Andrews also warned would-be explorers that they would not have control over how their story was portrayed all of the time – the media was usually more interested in headlines than nuanced analysis. This lesson has been learnt by many polar explorers whose exploits have been painted as a ‘race’ to the Pole (Scott, Amundsen, Richard Byrd, Wilkins, Edmund Hillary, and Vivian Fuchs amongst them).²³⁰ Finally, Andrews touches on the importance of having “the personality and ability to sell yourself as well as your plan”²³¹ – any explorers lacking these attributes were, in his words “out of luck.”²³²

Ernest Shackleton is a good example of a polar explorer whose personality and charisma placed him on the right side of Andrews’s ‘luck’. Shackleton worked for a short time as a junior editor at the *Royal Magazine* in London,²³³ but the meagre salary meant he soon left to try and sell articles about the *Discovery* expedition, which he had earlier travelled with as third officer, instead. He sold these articles to the media in order to raise funds for his next expedition, which would take place on board his own ship, the *Nimrod*, in 1907. When it came to speaking engagements, Shackleton had more success than with his written work, as Rebecca Johnson details in her biography: “With his gift for storytelling, Ernest kept audiences on the edges of their seats. He made a name for himself as a speaker and Antarctic explorer.”²³⁴ William Hobbs also attests to Shackleton’s ability as an orator in his 1941 publication *Explorers of the Antarctic*, proclaiming

²²⁹ Andrews, *This Business of Exploring*, 15.

²³⁰ While Scott and Amundsen did have the same goal in their sights (the geographic south pole), Scott did not know he was in a race until he was somewhat into it. The other cases had different aims and were not races, despite media framing to the contrary.

²³¹ Andrews, *This Business of Exploring*, 14.

²³² *Ibid.*, 14.

²³³ Johnson, *Ernest Shackleton*, 40.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

whether on the platform or in his books, Shackleton shared with Peary and with his old leader, Scott, the gift of telling his story in language which will live.²³⁵

Shackleton's American lecture manager, Lee Keedick, also praised the explorer's ability to win over the press, claiming that in his whole career he had "never known anyone who could so quickly win the confidence and arouse the interest of newspaper men as Sir Ernest Shackleton did."²³⁶ The explorer knew how to use the business of exploring to his advantage. He convinced editors of both the news value of his expeditions, and his own ability to win over audiences, in order to attract funds and finance further Antarctic expeditions.

The polar regions were not the only exotic locations to which the attention of newspaper editors was drawn. Africa, Asia and the colonies of New Zealand and Australia were also popular settings for stories on adventure. The *Daily Express* included features from exotic locations from the start,²³⁷ while Newnes's *The Wide World* illustrated magazine has been described as "an expression of the kaleidoscopic possibilities offered by the far corners of the earth within a newly expanded sense of time and place."²³⁸ Still, the extreme settings of the poles continued to be of particular interest for the reading public right through the Heroic Era of exploration. They represented the final frontier for the expansion of the British Empire, an empire that had high news value in the British press. At a time when the 'blank' areas of the map were rapidly shrinking, to claim a geographical first was a way to gain honour and prestige both for an explorer and his home nation. The nationalistic element of Scott's 'race' to the pole therefore made it an attractive story for the press, as did the human element inherent in such a 'man versus wild' scenario. Conboy claims that the melodrama of the popular press "draws, as its theatrical counterpart of the nineteenth century, upon deep-lying attitudes and archetypes" and "plays on the primary relationships and on the roles of characters within traditional storylines."²³⁹

²³⁵ Hobbs, *Explorers of the Antarctic*, 100. Keedick also managed Australian explorer Douglas Mawson's US lecture tour.

²³⁶ Hobbs, *Explorers of the Antarctic*, 100.

²³⁷ Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture*, 109.

²³⁸ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism*, 169.

²³⁹ Conboy, Martin. *The Press and Popular Culture*, 171.

Such storylines invariably include the archetypal role of the 'hero', which is one reason such stories of exploration were so popular.

The Race for News: Reporting on Exploration 'Firsts'

The drama inherent in such a 'race' scenario also made for exciting headlines. Conflict leads to drama, which in turn can be sensationalised in the headlines and used to sell newspapers. In addition, the national impact of the result, the prominence of the explorers, and the currency of ideas of extreme exploration combined to create a perfect publicity storm. Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition had the support of the Central News Agency,²⁴⁰ while Amundsen had an agreement to send his first dispatch to the *Daily Mail*. Alongside the race for the pole, there was a fierce race to be the first to publish the news back home. As it happened, Amundsen was first to reach the pole, on 14 November 1911 – Scott arrived just 33 days later. Immensely disappointed at having been beaten, Scott was nevertheless well aware of the importance of communicating the events of the summer to those back home. Having reached the Pole, he made a direct reference to news in his diary: "Now for a desperate struggle to get the news through first. I wonder if we can do it."²⁴¹ This reference was omitted from the first published versions of Scott's diaries,²⁴² probably because it shines light on the explorer's consciousness of his own relationship with the media. Although he had failed to reach his goal with priority, he still had a story to both tell and to sell. Amundsen, too, was aware of the value of his story. Having experienced financial loss when details of his previous expedition in the Arctic²⁴³ were leaked in 1905, Amundsen was particularly determined to control the release of his Antarctic narrative. The Norwegian went so far as to confine his men to the ship

²⁴⁰ Jones, *The Last Great Quest*, 98.

²⁴¹ Huxley, *Scott's Last Expedition*, 545.

²⁴² Huntford, *The Last Place on Earth*, 481.

²⁴³ Bown, *The Last Viking*, 88. Amundsen planned to sell news of his *Gjøa* expedition to *The Times* of London, but his telegram was leaked, the news was pirated by US publications, and Amundsen was unable to sell his story to cover costs as a result.

when they arrived in Hobart²⁴⁴ in order to prevent a leak to the local media, and preserve the value of the news when it did break.

This 'race' scenario has played out many times over the past century, both in the media and on the ice. When Australian Hubert Wilkins, the first aviator to take flight in the Antarctic, announced plans to fly over the continent, Richard Byrd, then a captain in the US navy, was organising an expedition to attempt to fly to the South Pole. These men had different aims, but the race element was picked up by the media nevertheless (the financial implications of this are explored later in this chapter).²⁴⁵ In the 1950s the *Trans Antarctic Expedition* was painted as a race between the co-leaders, Vivian Fuchs and Edmund Hillary, who were approaching the pole from opposite sides of the continent as part of a team effort (at least theoretically). Finally, the centenary of several Heroic Era expeditions saw reenactment races and expeditions organised in the Antarctic, with modern day heroes following in the footsteps of Heroic Era figures. This last phenomenon is examined in detail in Chapter 3; it illustrates that the concept of an Antarctic 'race' continues to have high news value. The amount of copy generated by the 1911 race to the Pole solidified the well-established relationship between the media and explorers, and led to the concept of a 'race' becoming an Antarctic trope.

The 'race to the pole' has become the archetypal Antarctic narrative,²⁴⁶ but the links between the media and polar exploration date back to the late nineteenth century. Stephanie Barczewski pinpoints James Gordon Bennett Junior, "manager of the New York Herald and the man who sent Henry Morton Stanley to Africa to find David Livingstone,"²⁴⁷ as the figure responsible for first bringing the polar regions to the pages of the press. Bennett Junior was responsible for the 1878 *Jeannette* expedition. He sent his ship, under the command of George

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 174. Amundsen had previously announced that the *Fram* would come into Lyttelton in New Zealand, not Hobart, so no international media was waiting to meet him in the Tasmanian port.

²⁴⁵ Nasht, *The Last Great Explorer*, 177.

²⁴⁶ The 'race' trope was also applied to the recent exploits of Cook and Peary in the north polar region and is explored in detail in Riffenburgh's *The Myth of the Explorer*.

²⁴⁷ Barczewski, *Antarctic Destinies*, 23.

Washington de Long, to go and rescue A. E. Nordenskiöld, who was long overdue from his own Arctic expedition. As it happened, Nordenskiöld was in fact at that moment “perfectly safe while spending the winter north of Siberia during his navigation of the Northeast passage,”²⁴⁸ but with no radios or method of communication, this was not known to those in the outside world, and speculation as to the explorer’s fate abounded. Eager to be the first to publish news of Nordenskiöld’s fate, the media magnate Bennett provided the vessel, and awaited the news. The expedition was a complete disaster, during which the *Jeannette* and half the crew were lost, including de Long.²⁴⁹ Another reporter, John P. Jackson, was later sent to Siberia to interview the survivors. Jackson then decided to exhume de Long’s body, a decision that was seen to be in very poor taste, but was nonetheless reported as a *New York Herald* exclusive.²⁵⁰ In a sense, the initial attempt to get Nordenskiöld’s story, which was couched as a rescue attempt, became the story itself. The *Jeannette* expedition highlights the extremes some explorer/publisher combinations were willing to go to in order to get – or generate – a story during the era of exploration at the end of the nineteenth and start of the twentieth centuries.

The incident of the *Jeannette* may have been an extreme example of seeking out news of exploration, but the *New York Herald* was not the only publication pursuing such stories. Matuoizzi writes that “by the first decade of the twentieth century, newspaper and book publishers paid huge sums for the exclusive rights to firsthand accounts of voyages of discovery.”²⁵¹ Lord Northcliffe was a significant figure in the development of the tabloid newspaper format, and founder of the *Daily Mail*. Aware of the news value of high latitude exploration, he financed the *Jackson-Harmsworth Expedition* to Franz Josef Land (1894–1897), led by Frederick George Jackson. The expedition failed in its objective of discovering a landmass that went as far north as the pole, but collected a scoop nonetheless when meeting Nansen in the Arctic as he returned from his own

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 23.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 23.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 23.

²⁵¹ Matuoizzi, “Richard Byrd,” 210.

attempt on the Pole with his companion Hjalmar Johansen.²⁵² Jean-Baptiste Charcot's 1903 *Francais* expedition was another with media support. The Parisian newspaper *Le Martin* provided 150,000 francs of the total 450,000 francs needed to mount the expedition, twice as much as the contribution from the French government.²⁵³

In 1931, the relationship between media and exploration became even tighter when William Randolph Hearst became aware of Wilkins' plan to fly across Antarctica from the Peninsula to the Ross Sea. With his daily audience of 20 million people across his stable of magazines, newspapers and radio stations, Hearst was arguably "the most influential [man] in America"²⁵⁴ at the time. Recognising the news potential of Wilkins' expedition, he offered to pay US\$40,000 for exclusive press coverage, with a US\$10,000 bonus on top if Wilkins made it to the South Pole.²⁵⁵ Although the geographic South Pole was not on Wilkins' intended itinerary, the deal was signed. For Hearst, this was the first of many deals with explorers in which he dictated the terms in advance²⁵⁶ and offered an explicit financial incentive for an explorer to strive to achieve the most newsworthy feats. These examples illustrate how geographical exploration was transformed, by virtue of newly developed journalistic techniques, into "a news commodity."²⁵⁷ Explorers' narratives were carefully mediated every step of the way, including via the official expedition accounts that were published and sold.

²⁵² Barczewski, *Antarctic Destinies*, 24.

²⁵³ Hobbs, *Explorers of the Antarctic*, 225.

²⁵⁴ Nasht, *The Last Great Explorer*, 177.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 177.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 222. Wilkins' later *Nautilus* expedition, which saw him attempt to sail a submarine beneath the North Pole, was another example. In the case of the latter, full payment was withheld until after the expedition's return: to earn the full \$150,000, the submarine and the airship *Graf Zeppelin* were required to rendezvous at the pole and exchange passengers. A simple meeting was worth just \$100,000 if it happened at the Pole, or \$30,000 if it occurred anywhere else in the Arctic.

²⁵⁷ Matuozi, "Richard Byrd," 210.

Reading Between the lines: Ghostwriting and Official Expedition Accounts

The seminal stories of Antarctic exploration are so embedded in popular perceptions of the continent that they can too easily be taken as read, rather than recognised as carefully constructed accounts. Lewander advises reading expedition narratives as “culturally mediated tales.”²⁵⁸ This makes them all the more valuable, as they reveal insights into the context in which they were created as well as into expedition life. The fact that official narratives by expedition leaders were the first accounts to appear raises the question of who was allowed to speak, and whose experiences were deemed valid at the time; power relations played an important role in designating who was granted the title of “explorer.”²⁵⁹ There were, of course, diverse narratives beyond the official one. In recent years there has been much interest in the diaries of the sailors and scientists who sailed south but never published accounts of their voyages, as these highlight the variety of experiences on each expedition. For example, Charles Turnbull Harrison’s diaries from Mawson’s 1911–1913 *Australasian Antarctic Expedition* were published in 2011,²⁶⁰ while his shipmate Stan Taylor’s diaries have recently been examined alongside Harry Dickason’s account of the *Terra Nova* expedition.²⁶¹ While personal journals had a different intended audience to the official accounts,²⁶² they nonetheless reveal alternative perspectives. Irish sailor Tom Crean’s experiences with Scott and Shackleton have been dramatized by Aidan Dooley, while Maddison’s 2014 book on *Class and Colonialism in Antarctic Exploration* focuses on the working-class sailors who were “the krill in the foodchain of Antarctic discovery.”²⁶³ As multiple stories emerge, the differences between these new voices and the established narratives can cast light upon the constructions at play in the dominant versions.

²⁵⁸ Lewander, “The Representations of the Swedish Antarctic Expedition,” 100.

²⁵⁹ Maddison, *Class and Colonialism in Antarctic Exploration*, 193.

²⁶⁰ Rossiter, *Mawson’s Forgotten Men*.

²⁶¹ Maddison, *Class and Colonialism in Antarctic Exploration*, 5.

²⁶² Bown, *The Last Viking*, 190. Amundsen’s private journals and published account illustrate this point well – Bown notes that “all interpersonal quarrelling and rivalry is excluded from the book.” Ibid., 190.

²⁶³ Maddison, *Class and Colonialism in Antarctic Exploration*, 1.

Exploration accounts were tailored to cater for the mass market, and therefore needed to be able to sell both themselves, and the reputations of explorers. Lewander addresses the conscious creation of such stories when she writes about representations of the Swedish *Antarctic* Expedition of 1901–03, noting that such a process occurred in a number of expeditions:

As polar explorers such as A.E. Nordensköld, Nansen, Roald Amundsen, Scott, and Ernest Shackleton wrote their narratives, each could be seen as having made an active choice as to how to present his project.²⁶⁴

Lewander goes on to examine some of those choices: did the explorers “present scientific expeditions in the name of modernity; as national projects strengthening the glory of their own countries; or as adventurous stories of discoveries of the unknown?”²⁶⁵ All such approaches have been taken by various explorers at different points in time, but an important motivating factor behind such a decision was the mood of the public back home. This, along with the funding sources of the expedition (often the Navy, Royal Geographical Society, or private sponsorship) helped to shape the official narrative. Explorers needed to know how to pitch their expeditions in order to gain support. In other words, they needed to know their audience in order to sell their story most effectively.

Crafting Stories for Sale

As accomplished as an explorer may have been in the tackling of unknown landscapes, this did not always go hand in hand with literary skill. This is an issue that comes to the fore in correspondence about Amundsen’s *South Pole* expedition. When writing to Fridtjof Nansen on March 9, 1912, the publisher William Heinemann assured Amundsen’s representative that he was “just as anxious today to publish Mr Amundsen’s book”²⁶⁶ as he had been in previous correspondence, and hoped to conclude an agreement with Amundsen’s brother, Leon, for its publication. Three days later, and following the publication of

²⁶⁴ Lewander, “The Representations of the Swedish Antarctic Expedition,” 99.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 99.

²⁶⁶ Letter from William Heinemann (publisher) to Fridtjof Nansen: March 9, 1912. Nasjonalbiblioteket Ms fol 1924: 5,3 “1912: Amundsens hjemkomst fra Sydpolen”

Amundsen's preliminary account in *The Daily Chronicle*, the publisher's tone was less enthusiastic. Several of Heinemann's colleagues had received requests to make an offer on Amundsen's book, and he wrote to Nansen expressing both annoyance at being asked to tender for the contract, and doubt as to whether any other offers would be forthcoming:

the quality of the telegram received by the 'Chronicle' was considered very disappointing here, and the human interest seems to be missing entirely in the story of this expedition, which appears to have been the most capably managed and ridiculously easy performance ever known, considering what others have suffered.²⁶⁷

Amundsen's biographer Stephen Bown elaborates on the mismatch between the expedition as it was presented, and its commercial value: "Amundsen didn't write a book about a harrowing adventure in the most inhospitable place on earth; rather, he wrote about a grand sporting event."²⁶⁸ The narrative did not conform to the expected conventions of adventure writing, and was therefore less valuable as an asset in the publisher's eyes.

Amundsen's account failed to tap into the tropes of extremity, hardship and endurance that an audience expected in an Antarctic story. Heinemann had already published the polar narratives of both Nansen and Shackleton, but was so put off by the "wretched cable interview" that Amundsen provided to the newspapers that he rescinded his offer to publish the Norwegian's narrative:

I must say I am so disappointed with the want of imagination he displays and the blindness he seems to have for a pictorial attraction in even so thrilling a thing as his achievement, that I have decided not in any circumstances to compete for his book.²⁶⁹

The explorer's achievements were more than newsworthy, but the manner in which they were recounted was not; in this case, the ability to pitch yourself and sell your story took precedence over the substance of the story itself. For

²⁶⁷ Letter from William Heinemann (publisher) to Fridtjof Nansen: March 12, 1912. Nasjonalbiblioteket Ms fol 1924: 5,3 "1912: Amundsens hjemkomst fra Sydpolen"

²⁶⁸ Bown, *The Last Viking*, 190.

²⁶⁹ Letter from William Heinemann (publisher) to Fridtjof Nansen: March 18, 1912. Nasjonalbiblioteket Ms fol 1924: 5,3 "1912: Amundsens hjemkomst fra Sydpolen"

Heinemann, a compelling story was required, as this would attract readers and allow the publisher to make a profit. Although Amundsen's account was later published by John Murray as *The South Pole*, the criticism that the expedition sounded too easy continued to be levelled; a contemporary review in *The Times Literary Supplement* claimed that the book "convey[ed] the impression that the whole affair was a sort of pleasure trip."²⁷⁰ The skill of framing narratives of adventure to appeal to a wide reading audience played an important part in ensuring polar explorers' career success.

Given the imperative to produce a readable and compelling account, official expedition narratives were often co-written, with collaboration at times blurring into ghostwriting.²⁷¹ Shackleton was one explorer who made use of a ghostwriter in order to better sell his narratives. "Shackleton's own story,"²⁷² entitled *Heart of the Antarctic*, was actually written by Edward Saunders, a journalist from New Zealand. Shackleton dictated events on the voyage back to England, and Saunders transcribed, before shaping the narrative into its published form. While the explorer was adept at oral lectures, interviews, and sound bites, he "lacked the sustained concentration necessary to write a book."²⁷³ At the turn of the twentieth century it was not unusual for an official expedition narrative to have been penned by many hands. Such a practice had a long history, going back to the days of explorers such as Captain James Cook.²⁷⁴ While it had been previously common practice to acknowledge the multiple authors, the growth of the 'hero business' signalled a shift in the attribution of narratives, with several well-known expedition leaders²⁷⁵ engaging ghostwriters to pen the stories under the explorer's own by-line. The official story needed to be engaging and dramatic

²⁷⁰ Quoted in Bown, *The Last Viking*, 191.

²⁷¹ Ernest Shackleton's accounts *South* and *Heart of the Antarctic* were written by journalist Edward Saunders, and fellow expeditioner Archibald McLean assisted Douglas Mawson in writing *Home of the Blizzard*.

²⁷² "Welcome Home." This article appeared in the *Daily Express* above an advertisement for 'Shackleton's Own Story', due to appear in full in *Pearson's Magazine*. The *Daily Express* and *Pearson's Magazine* had the same owners. It was not uncommon for excerpts of explorers' journals to appear in a newspaper, with an advertisement beneath, announcing that the full account would appear in a corresponding magazine.

²⁷³ Mayer, *Shackleton*, 97.

²⁷⁴ Craciun, "Oceania Voyages," 181.

²⁷⁵ Ernest Shackleton, Douglas Mawson and Richard E. Byrd are well known examples.

in order to sell copies, and ergo, advertising. A successful book would cement an explorer's reputation whilst ensuring a return on the publisher's investment.

Selling the story was one way of gaining funds for an expedition, but having control over the official narrative was also a way to prevent dissenting voices from undermining the expedition. Otto Nordenskjöld (nephew of A.E. Nordenskiöld of the *Jeanette* expedition) required all the scientists involved in his 1901 *Swedish Antarctic Expedition* to sign a contract that ensured his exclusive rights to the publication of the first account,²⁷⁶ as did Shackleton. In the case of Reinhold Messner, some 70 years later, the dissenting voices were more of a story than the expedition itself. In 1989 Wilhelm Bittorf, reporter for *Der Spiegel*, travelled as far as Antarctica with Messner and Arved Fuchs as they set off on foot to attempt the first transantarctic journey.²⁷⁷ As with earlier expeditions, the leader, Messner, had a media deal with *Der Spiegel* for worldwide print coverage, and with *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (ARD) for film footage. In this case the deal did not extend to cover all members of the expedition party, a situation that led to later conflict. Following the expedition, two different versions of the story were reported as personal animosities between Messner and Fuchs were made public. As Messner recounts in his book *Antarctica: Both Heaven and Hell*, "We had furnished the media with suppositions – a drama on the ice without eyewitnesses."²⁷⁸ Indeed, the hint of disharmony made for much better news copy than any simple account of the feat achieved could have hoped to.

Media, Advertising and Exploration in *The Strand Magazine*

Carsten Borchgrevink – an Anglo-Norwegian immigrant to Australia – knew the importance of positive publicity and selling a story. His 1898 *Southern Cross* expedition, which was both the first private Antarctic expedition and the first to

²⁷⁶ Lewander, "The Representations of the Swedish Antarctic Expedition," 101.

²⁷⁷ Messner, *Antarctica*, 11.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 194.

winter on the continent, was funded by press baron George Newnes. Several Antarctic expeditions had already headed south – most notably the *Belgica* expedition of 1897 – but all were financed by a combination of military and scientific bodies, or other national funding.²⁷⁹ Having provided the necessary funds for Borchgrevink to set sail, Newnes – who was best known for his daily newspaper *The Westminster Gazette* and his periodical publications *The Strand Magazine* and *The Wide World Magazine* – then had access to exclusive tales of exploration. These stories were accompanied by photographs from the Antarctic (Figure 2.1), thus making visible the continent to a wide audience back in England. Several other stories of high latitude exploration appeared in the pages of the publication between 1883 and 1914, including an article about the *Southern Cross* written by Newnes himself – one of only eight that ever appeared under his by-line. Although it was costly to fit out an expedition such as the *Southern Cross*, the stories that appeared in Newnes’s media stable drew enough interest to warrant the expense.²⁸⁰ They helped to sell more newspapers and magazines, making the advertising space within their pages all the more valuable, and starting off the relationship between advertising and the Antarctic.

Newnes was also the publisher of Borchgrevink’s official expedition account, *First on the Antarctic Continent*. The book incorporates multiple newspaper clippings, including a report from *Aftenposten* entitled “Departure from Christiania;”²⁸¹ a report from the *Times* entitled “Sir George Newnes’s Luncheon on Board the *Southern Cross*’;”²⁸² and a report from Newnes’s own *Westminster Gazette* entitled “Departure Scenes.”²⁸³ These original articles were used to set the scene for the expedition narrative. They also lent an authentic air to the story, and reminded audiences how Borchgrevink had delivered on the outcomes he promised when promoting the expedition prior to his departure.

²⁷⁹ Roberts, “The Politics of Early Exploration,” 321.

²⁸⁰ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 189.

²⁸¹ Quoted in Borchgrevink, *First on the Antarctic Continent*, 24. Dated July 30 1898.

²⁸² Quoted in Borchgrevink, *First on the Antarctic Continent*, 24. Dated August 20 1898.

²⁸³ Quoted in Borchgrevink, *First on the Antarctic Continent*, 29. Dated August 23, 1898.

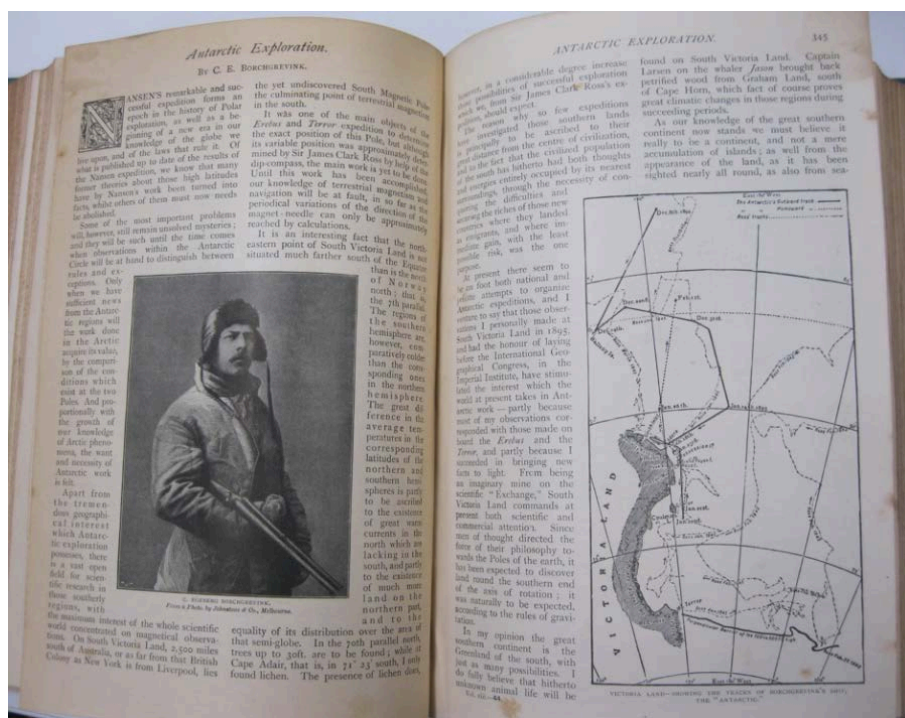


Figure 2.1 Borchgrevink's article about Antarctica, published prior to his Southern Cross Expedition, as it appeared in *The Strand Magazine*, 1897 (Source: *The Strand Magazine*, Vol. 13, No. 75, March 1897, 344)

Scott in *The Strand*: Early Antarctic Endorsements

Newnes's *The Strand Magazine* was the first publication to carry, via a four-part serial, a detailed account of Captain Scott's fatal trek to the pole in 1911–12.²⁸⁴ Scott's diaries, which first appeared in print in 1913, attracted huge public interest, and his story has since become one of the founding myths of Antarctica. Even at the time, several of the companies that supplied goods to the *Terra Nova* expedition recognised the opportunity to capitalise on their own involvement in the expedition by placing advertisements in the same issue of *The Strand Magazine* as the serial, detailing the ways in which their products were used.

²⁸⁴ Scott's diaries were subsequently published in a two volume set, edited by Leonard Huxley. The first volume was released in November 1913.

These early Antarctic advertisements make no differentiation between the explorers who used their products and the polar environment. The explorers functioned metonymically, and their association with the continent meant there was no need to actually show Antarctica itself. This is the case in an advertisement for Singer, which, in 1912, was the world's seventh largest firm (Figure 2.2).²⁸⁵ Under the headline "The 'Singer' in the Antarctic," a half page photograph shows a

seaman working Singer Sewing Machine at Cape Evans, the winter quarters of the late Captain Scott's successful though ill-fated Expedition to the South Pole, 1910–13 (Figure 2.2).


Most sewing machine advertisements of the time pictured women using the equipment in a domestic setting, and the main consumers of sewing machines were women in their own homes.²⁸⁶ With no women in Antarctica at this point (or indeed for many decades to come), the men took on tasks that were traditionally the woman's domain, such as cooking and sewing. Yet, despite the gender of this sewer, the layout of the photograph carries echoes of a familiar scene, with the accompanying text all that places it on the faraway continent. This text also connects the product to a man who was an enormous, if tragic, celebrity at the time, calling upon the well-known story of "Scott of the Antarctic" to gain publicity. The advertisement ends with the assertion that "Singer Sewing Machines have been selected by all the great Antarctic Expeditions BECAUSE THEY ARE THE BEST" (Figure 2.2). Whether or not the product itself was actually superlative is not the point – having been used in the harshest of environments, it surely proved its capability under all conditions.

²⁸⁵ Godley, "Selling the Sewing Machine," 267.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 287.

THE STRAND MAGAZINE.

THE "SINGER" IN THE ANTARCTIC.



Seaman working Singer Sewing Machine at Cape Evans, the winter quarters of the late Captain Scott's successful though ill-fated Expedition to the South Pole, 1911.

The following letter was sent to us by Commander Evans, who took charge of the Expedition after the death of Captain Scott and his four companions who accompanied him on the dash to the Pole:—

I have much pleasure in informing you that the Sewing Machine supplied by your firm for use in the Antarctic proved very serviceable. It was used for many purposes, and the severe tests which it underwent prove it to be a machine of the highest quality and utility.

(Signed) *W. N. Evans*

Captain Scott chose a Singer out of all other makes of Sewing Machines because he knew from previous experience it was the most reliable—the one which could be depended upon under all conditions. If you contemplate purchasing a Sewing Machine, why not be guided by his choice and

Sew with a "SINGER"?

SINGER SEWING MACHINES

Have been selected by all the great Antarctic Expeditions BECAUSE THEY ARE THE BEST.

SINGER SEWING MACHINE CO., Ltd.—Shops Everywhere

Figure 2.2: This advertisement for the Singer sewing machine appeared in The Strand Magazine in 1913, alongside Scott's diaries (Source: The Strand Magazine, Vol. 46, No. 275, November 1913)

Being present in the Antarctic created one sort of a testimonial for a product, but comment from those who used the product was also important. In the case of the Singer advert, a letter from Commander Evans (second in command on the *Terra Nova* expedition) speaks to the durability of the sewing machine: "the severe tests which it underwent prove it to be a machine of the highest quality and utility" (Figure 2.2). Reproducing original letters or telegrams in advertisements was one way of lending products authenticity. At the time these advertisements were produced, the telegram was a relatively new technology and carried connotations of urgent news from afar. The telegram played an important role in

driving the narratives of the Heroic Era, with Amundsen famously using the medium to inform the world – and his rival, Scott – of his plans to head south.²⁸⁷

A second Antarctic testimonial from Commander Evans features in an advertisement for the His Master's Voice gramophone (Figure 2.3). This also appeared alongside Scott's diaries in *The Strand Magazine*. Like the sewing machine, the gramophone is a domestic product. Juxtaposing the machine with the extreme environment of the Antarctic shows how effective the gramophone is at creating a cosy atmosphere anywhere in the world. This idea comes through in Evans' testimonial, where he reports that "The value of such instruments to an Antarctic Expedition cannot be over-estimated, they provide amusement for many hours and revive pleasant memories of Home." (Figure 2.3) The headline of the advertisement is also important in this regard. It reads "East, West, North – South 'His Master's Voice' Gramophone is appreciated" (Figure 2.3). This suggests that His Master's Voice gramophones are used and appreciated all over the world, even in the most far-flung corners, such as McMurdo Sound. In this case, Antarctica stands for the southernmost point of the compass.

Even whilst isolated in Antarctica, Scott's party were aware that distinctive visuals were an important way to assert brand identity, and were actively creating such images themselves. The published advertisement for the His Master's Voice gramophone features a photograph of "one of the sledge-dogs, listening to 'His Master's Voice'" (Figure 2.3) and posed to resemble the terrier that features on the record company's logo. In the quoted telegraph message, Evans goes on to explain the story behind the image:

Mr Ponting our photographer, took some photographs of the Siberian sledging dogs listening to the Gramophone, similar to your well-known fox-terrier. I am returning to London shortly, and will communicate with you then regarding these.

²⁸⁷ It was also via telegram that the world learnt of Amundsen's successful quest for the pole, and that news of Scott's death was sent to England upon the *Terra Nova's* return to civilisation. The use of a reproduced telegram is a technique employed in Antarctic advertisements right through to the 1930s, when Admiral Byrd's endorsements of various products such as "Interwoven socks" and "mercurochrome antiseptic" were presented in a similar way.

Aware of the media machine and the power of endorsements and sponsorship, Scott's men deliberately posed the dogs to recreate the scene pictured on the record company's logo. Although they were living far from civilisation at the time, they were already giving thought to the future promotional uses of such photographs once they returned home.

THE STRAND MAGAZINE.

EAST, WEST, NORTH—SOUTH
'His Master's Voice' Gramophone is appreciated



Reproduction of Snapshot taken at McMurdo Sound of "Kieraniza"—called "Chis" by the explorers—one of the sledge-dogs, listening to 'His Master's Voice'.

HIS MASTER'S VOICE

"Dear Sir,
 Permit me, on behalf of my late Chief, Captain Scott, and on behalf of the members of the expedition, to thank you for the excellent Gramophones and Records supplied to your firm, which have given the greatest satisfaction.
 The value of such instruments to an Arctic Expedition cannot be over estimated; they provide amusement for many hours and revive pleasant memories of home.
 Mr. Harding our photographer, took some photographs of the Siberian sledge dogs listening to the Gramophone, which I am enclosing for you. I am returning to London shortly, and will communicate with you then regarding them.
 I take this opportunity of thanking you for the further supply of records you provided last year. They proved to be excellent."
 (Signed) EDWARD R. L. EVANS,
 Commander, Royal Navy.

The Gramophone Co., Ltd.

THE long autumn evenings will soon be upon us. We also, like the Arctic heroes, will require real music, i.e., music by the greatest artists. Only on 'His Master's Voice' Records can be heard Melba, Tetrazzini, Caruso, Chaliapine, Titta Ruffo; and among the laughter bringers are Harry Lauder, George Robey, Wilkie Bard, Tom Clare. So extensive is 'His Master's Voice' catalogue, that it is impossible to quote individually. The best music in your own room if you own 'His Master's Voice' Instrument.



Table Grand Model IX
 Price £16 16s. 0d.

Call at a Dealer's and ask to hear records by any of these artists. Ask him to play them on a 'Table Grand Model'—you'll be delighted.

The Gramophone Co. Ltd.
 21 City Road London E.C.

HIS MASTER'S VOICE

Figure 2.3: This advertisement for His Master's Voice appeared in The Strand Magazine in 1913, alongside Scott's diaries (Source: The Strand Magazine, Vol. 46, No. 275, November 1913)

The photograph of the dogs was not the only such staged image, and at times the photographs from Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition suggest a certain cynicism about the necessity of sponsorship and promotion. A photograph featuring Heinz

baked beans stars a grinning Frederick Hooper spooning the beans towards his mouth as he perches atop a branded crate (Figure 2.4). This image reveals the extent to which the explorers were conscious of their roles as brand ambassadors. Ryan describes it convincingly as “a playful parody of the explorer-as-advertiser.”²⁸⁸ The image contains all the expected elements, such as visible packaging, an Antarctic scene, and a smile, but at the same time it is staged in a way that mocks the very conventions to which it conforms: the smile is a little *too* wide, the product placement a little *too* blatant. Explorers themselves were all too aware of their reliance on advertising media.



Figure 2.4: Frederick Hooper posed with Heinz Baked Beans during the Terra Nova expedition, 1911 (Source: Ryan, Photography and Exploration, 27)

This awareness of the complex interactions between exploration and the media is also evident in other contemporary Antarctic expeditions, such as Mawson's *Australasian Antarctic Expedition* (1911–1914). Like many expeditions of the

²⁸⁸ Ryan, *Photography and Exploration*, 27.

Heroic Era, Mawson's men produced a newspaper over the winter months. The *Adelie Blizzard* followed in the tradition of Scott's *South Polar Times* (1901–04 and 1910–12) and Shackleton's *Aurora Australis* (1907–09). Upon publishing the *Adelie Blizzard* at Cape Denison in Antarctica, Mawson sent a message home to announce "the publication of the first 'real newspaper' in Antarctica."²⁸⁹ This newspaper featured articles, classified advertisements, and – in an Antarctic first – news that had been received via the radio connection. Mawson sought, and was granted, honorary membership to the Press Association. Soon afterwards the liquor company Wolfes Schnapps, who were "going along with the charade,"²⁹⁰ enquired about placing an advertisement in his publication, but as "payment was not forthcoming,"²⁹¹ the newspaper editor Archibald McLean noted wryly, the advertisement never appeared. The fact that media conventions such as placing an advertisement were satirised in the Antarctic newspaper indicates the men's familiarity with them – they did not need an advertorial in *The Strand Magazine* to convince them of the advertisement's role.

Farthest South with Ballantynes: Creating a Narrative Link to the Poles

Both the serious advertisements addressed so far (Singer and His Master's Voice) draw upon an Antarctic connection to give them credibility. They also employed a topical news story to draw the attention of *The Strand Magazine* readers to said products. Rewinding four years to an earlier attempt on the South Pole by Shackleton, the Christchurch clothing store Ballantynes used the news of the *Nimrod*'s return to market furs that had nothing to do with the Antarctic at all. In March 1909, *The Lyttelton Times*²⁹² reported that Shackleton's vessel *The Nimrod* was "back from the Antarctic," and carried estimates of the time the ship would arrive in the local port. Some days later, four full pages of text were

²⁸⁹ Leane, "The Polar Press," 33.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁹² Edward Saunders, who went on to ghostwrite both of Ernest Shackleton's official accounts of Antarctic exploration, was a journalist at *The Lyttelton Times*, where his father was the editor. Although these articles carry no by-lines, it is likely that the stories on Antarctic exploration were written by Saunders, as he had previous experience covering such expeditions, and first met Shackleton in 1901 when Robert Falcon Scott's *Discovery* expedition was in the port.

devoted to the return of the *Nimrod*, but the illustration of a penguin that graced the pages of the same issue did not belong with the news of the arrival. Instead the only Antarctic image, featuring said penguin, as well as icicles, a sketch of a ship and the title “Farthest South...” belonged to an advertisement for “the finest furs found in the farthest North,” of which “excellent examples” were available at Ballantynes²⁹³ (Figure 2.5). The advertisement uses contemporary ideas about Antarctica to draw in the audience and help them imagine a place in which these furs are a necessity: “Farthest South: The words at once suggest glorious sunsets, bitter cold, biting blizzards, British pluck, Heroic enterprise, and the need of the finest furs” (Figure 2.5). The language used to invoke Antarctica is remarkably similar to the language used in modern day advertisements, drawing on beautiful landscapes (the sunsets), an extreme environment (cold and blizzards), the attraction of the wildlife (penguins), and the idea of a hero. As later chapters will demonstrate, these themes have subsequently been used in advertisements to sell products with no obvious connections to Antarctica.

²⁹³ The same March 30, 1909 issue of *The Lyttelton Times* also featured an article entitled “Holidays in Antarctica: Summer Excursions,” proposing that Antarctica would make a good tourist location if only the infrastructure could be slightly improved: “the Arctic and Antarctica regions are places of such marvelous beauty and grandeur that the greatest privations and misfortune cannot outweigh the pleasures of a sojourn there.” (March 27 1909).

THE LYTTLETON TIMES, SATURDAY



FARTHEST SOUTH...

THE WORDS AT
ONCE SUGGEST

GLORIOUS SUNSETS,
BITTER COLD,
BITING BLIZZARDS,
BRITISH PLUCK,
HEROIC ENTERPRISE,
AND THE NEED OF

THE FINEST FURS

FOUND IN THE
FARTHEST NORTH

EXCELLENT EXAMPLES
OF WHICH ARE SUBMITTED TO-DAY

AT... **BALLANTYNES**

FUR NECKLETS **FUR MUFFS**
FUR SETS **FUR COATS**

Made from the most reliable skins, the rich ones and the rare ones
handsomely finished by famous furriers.

J. BALLANTYNE & CO.,
NEW ZEALAND'S FUR AUTHORITIES.

HEARNE'S BRONCHITIS CURE.

Those who have taken this medicine are amazed at its splendid healing power. Sufferers from Whooping Cough, Croup, Asthma, Difficulty of Breathing, Hoarseness, Pain or Soreness in the Chest, experience delightful and rapid relief; and to those who are subject to Colds on the chest it is invaluable, as it effects a complete cure. It is most comforting in allaying irritation in the Throat and giving Strength to the Voice, and it neither allows a Cough nor Asthma to become chronic, nor Consumption to develop. Consumption is not known where "Coughs" have, on their first appearance, been properly treated with this medicine. No house should be without it, as, taken at the beginning, a dose or two is generally sufficient, and a complete cure is certain.

Small Size, 2/6; Large Size, 4/6. Sold by all Chemists and Medicine Vendors, and by the Proprietor, W. G. HEARNE, Chemist, Geelong, Victoria. Forwarded to any Address, when not obtainable locally.

Figure 2.5: Ballantynes advertisement from March 1909
(Source: The Lyttelton Times, March 30, 1909, 4)

The inclusion of the term “British pluck” as an association with the far south is telling of the context in which the advertisement was created, both in terms of time and place. At this stage, Antarctica still consisted in the public imagination of large blank spaces, and explorers from several nations were setting off on expeditions with the aim of planting their flags and claiming new territory for their homeland. New Zealand was a dominion of Britain, and many New Zealanders still referred to the place as ‘home.’ Edwardian ideals of man pitting himself against the elements resonated with the audience, and the concept of a particularly British form of courage was accepted without question. Ballantynes

regularly ran advertisements in the pages of *The Lyttelton Times*, but this polar-themed advertisement was created specifically for the occasion of the *Nimrod*'s return. Featuring prominent Antarctic imagery, this advertisement would have been sure to catch the attention of an audience eager for news of Shackleton's return from the south. The design appeared three times before the company reverted to a more conventional advertisement as the media hype surrounding the arrival of the ship died down.

These examples illustrate two ways in which Antarctic exploration and advertising have been linked ever since the Heroic Era of exploration. In the case of *The Strand Magazine*, advertisements based on testimonials from those who were in Antarctica appeared alongside Captain Scott's diary entries. Singer sewing machines and His Master's Voice gramophones were used all over the world, but these products had a direct link to the southern continent, as they had been used in the course of the *Terra Nova* expedition. Following the return of the expedition, this association was used to gain exposure for the brand, thanks to endorsements from polar explorers and photographs of the products in situ in Antarctica. In the case of the Ballantynes advertisement, there was no existing link between the Antarctic and the clothing products for sale in Christchurch, although furs are associated with cold climates. Instead, designers created a link through the narrative of the advertisement, using Antarctic imagery and descriptions to set the scene, before introducing the furs that were needed to keep the explorers warm. Antarctica was used as a hook to gain the attention of the audience, as the return of the *Nimrod* was a topical news story over the week during which the advertisement appeared. In both cases, the return of an Antarctic expedition in which there was already public interest was used as a platform to promote a product or brand within the pages of a media publication.

News, Advertising and Exploration: In Summary

Antarctica came into view in the midst of a developing global media industry. As explorers were marching off into the unknown and sending back dispatches about their icy discoveries to headline the evening news, publishers were translating exploration into remuneration via circulation: the more copies were sold, the more valuable the advertising space in the pages became. As polar exploration offered riveting copy, capturing readers' attention and keeping them loyal to certain publications, press barons began to offer direct financial assistance to expeditions in exchange for the media rights. Photography also played an important role, making visible to a wide audience both the explorers and the new territories they were discovering. As images became more commonplace in news publications, the public came to demand more. This created an incentive for newspapers to sponsor or arrange deals with explorers in order to ensure their pages would be filled with exciting accounts – and, in the case of periodicals and magazines, images – from the most remote parts of the world. Those stories of exploration that were reported in the pages of the newspapers and magazines in turn attracted the first Antarctic-related advertising, setting the scene for the product endorsements, imagery, and symbolic uses of the continent that would occur in advertisements over the century to come.

Even at this early stage, many of the tropes that are today associated with Antarctica, such as charismatic wildlife, and ideas of extremity and heroic endeavour, were being both voiced and satirised. Understanding the relationship between the media and polar exploration, and the commercial nature of both ventures, sets the scene for the following chapters in which these tropes are examined in closer detail. The emergence of the modern media landscape is an important background to understanding the ways in which we think about Antarctica today: it was during the period of the early twentieth century, and primarily in the pages of newspapers and magazines, that Antarctic imagery became visible, became commodified, and began to be used for commercial

purposes. It was here, too, that the narratives of polar exploration that continue to be associated with Antarctica were born, and transformed from story to myth.

Chapter 2 – Byrd’s “Hero Business” in a Technological Age

Richard Evelyn Byrd was an aviator, American naval officer, and polar explorer who “understood the machinery of celebrity better than he understood the machinery of aeroplanes.”²⁹⁴ His privately funded expedition of 1928–30 has been called “the first ‘million dollar’ Antarctic expedition,”²⁹⁵ and pilot Dean Smith portrayed it as “Byrd’s own show: he was producer, director and star.”²⁹⁶ Byrd’s second Antarctic expedition (1933–35) was also characterised by the cult of celebrity. He used the media candidly and skilfully, working with radio and print outlets to orchestrate newsworthy events in high latitudes, and deliberately construing himself as a media personality. Byrd himself explained how

once you enter the world of headlines you learn there is not one truth but two: the one which you know from the facts; and the one which the public, or at any rate a highly imaginative part of the public, acquires by osmosis.²⁹⁷

That public self was useful for attracting sponsorship and further media coverage; Matuoizzi has described Byrd’s public career as “an expression of the cultural and economic energies that defined American society in the twentieth century, especially large-scale consumer capitalism and advertising.”²⁹⁸ By building on his success as an aviator in the Arctic (1926) and in flying across the Atlantic (1927), the media industry helped to construct Byrd as a celebrity figure. Both publishers and sponsors continued to benefit from carrying news stories throughout Byrd’s private Antarctic expeditions.

Byrd dedicated a chapter in his 1928 book *Skyward* to “This Hero Business.” The section includes the following exchange:

“But what is a national hero, and why?” I asked a newspaper friend of mine.

²⁹⁴ Maynard, *Wings of Ice*, 3.

²⁹⁵ Rodgers, “Richard E. Byrd’s First Antarctic Expedition,” 158.

²⁹⁶ Maynard, *Wings of Ice*, 201.

²⁹⁷ Byrd, *Alone*, 8.

²⁹⁸ Matuoizzi, “Richard Byrd,” 234.

“Oh, someone who’s worth two columns and a front-page steamer,
fireboats and a basket of medals,” came the cynical reply.²⁹⁹

Byrd was no stranger to medals or media coverage, or to playing the role of ‘hero’. This thesis chapter uses Byrd’s early Antarctic expeditions to analyse the relationship between the media, sponsors, advertisements, and the ‘hero business’ in the US context. The links between Byrd and the media during his early Antarctic expeditions are highlighted, and the commercial value associated with sponsoring the expedition is examined. While Byrd’s relationship with the media has been investigated by scholars such as Matuoizzi (2002) and Cronin (2016), these studies are not exhaustive, and a range of revealing resources related to advertising and sponsorship have yet to be examined.

This chapter comprises three case studies illustrating the various ways Byrd’s media deals were reflected in both advertisements and contemporary cultural production. It also provides a contextual overview of what was going on in advertising at the time, and tracks the rise of radio as a popular medium. The first case study relates to a 1935 booklet entitled *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure*, which provides insights into how expedition sponsorship was translated back into domestic advertising. An analysis of Byrd’s three polar Guernsey cows then reveals how sponsorship could be strategically used to provide not only material goods, but a point of difference for an expedition, thereby attracting further media attention. Finally, a close reading of a contemporary satirical response to the world of polar exploration shows that the close relationship between media, commerce and Antarctic exploration was recognised and incisively parodied by Byrd’s peers. All three case studies bring the relationship between media, sponsorship and exploration to the fore. It was with Byrd’s first two expeditions to Little America (a US scientific base) that the ‘hero business’ claimed Antarctica as its own. Thanks to both radio and print media, this association was announced to the world through all possible channels.

²⁹⁹ Byrd, *Skyward*, 211.

The Rise of Radio: Sponsorship, Advertising, and Education

Radio was the first medium to offer immediate coverage of events, and to reach people in their own homes.³⁰⁰ As Susan Smulyan puts it, “radio provided the private experience of public messages.”³⁰¹ It also offered unique opportunities for advertisers to connect with potential customers. That customer base was widening. By the 1920s, women’s role as consumers had been accepted by advertisers³⁰² – it was to them, and their ideals of home and family life, that commercials appealed. This was also true of products that were marketed with their Antarctic links, having been taken south with Admiral Byrd. Radio played a pivotal role in Byrd’s second Antarctic expedition. CBS secured radio rights³⁰³ to broadcasts from the continent, and a regular weekly show was planned, complete with live crosses to Little America. Historian Lisle Rose writes of the value of exploiting this radio technology: “Radio permitted Byrd and his men to remain in the public eye throughout their time in Antarctica.”³⁰⁴ The radio equipment itself was the product of sponsorship from newspaper outlets that “agreed to furnish the expedition with the most modern radio equipment available, at considerable expense to themselves,”³⁰⁵ in order to gain access to ongoing updates, and to allow their readers in the United States to keep up with the expedition in real time. Such updates were prefaced with spots for Grape Nuts, a General Foods product that very much relied on recognition by domestic consumers.

The rise of radio provided an additional coverage opportunity for expedition sponsors, as by the 1930s, radio broadcasting content was “largely driven by consumer advertising.”³⁰⁶ This advertising was a cause for concern in the early 1930s, and contemporary debates over the use of the airwaves saw a push to reserve radio frequencies for non-profit purposes and restrict advertising

³⁰⁰ Branston and Stafford, *The Media Student Book*, 174.

³⁰¹ Smulyan, “Radio Advertising,” 300.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 300.

³⁰³ Matuozi, “Richard Byrd,” 215.

³⁰⁴ Rose, “Exploring a Secret Land,” 182.

³⁰⁵ Matuozi, “Richard Byrd,” 224. The outlets in question were the *New York Times* and *St Louis Post-Dispatch*.

³⁰⁶ Matuozi, “Richard Byrd,” 209.

content. As a result, the promoters of the Byrd radio broadcasts stressed the educational nature of such a program. Children were encouraged to listen to the radio dispatches and keep a diary of Byrd's activities – the naming sponsor even promoted educational packs to teachers for this purpose, and made available resources for children who sent in the top of a branded cereal packet.³⁰⁷ This emphasis on education was deliberate, and was used by commercial broadcasters to show evidence of their corporate responsibility,³⁰⁸ in a bid to prove that legislating tighter regulation of advertising was unnecessary. It also meant that children all over the United States became familiar with both Byrd and his Antarctic exploits, cementing his fame across generations.

Sky High: The “Mechanical Age” of Exploration

Byrd's Antarctic expeditions took place during the Mechanical Age of exploration.³⁰⁹ Flights in the Arctic had already established the potential for publicity, as demonstrated by Byrd's May 1926 airborne quest for the North Pole. Media interest in the flight had been building for some time, and this was in a large part due to the framing of the expedition as intensely competitive. Byrd's North Pole flight was part of the 1926 event dubbed “The race to the top of the world.”³¹⁰ Byrd, Hubert Wilkins,³¹¹ and the Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile team were depicted as heading for the pole simultaneously, in a three-way race.³¹² On May 9, 1926 Byrd and Floyd Bennett flew a distance of over 3000 miles return from Spitsbergen northwards, and Byrd claimed to have become the first aviator to fly over the North Pole in the process. Although doubts as to the veracity of

³⁰⁷ Perry, “CBS's Long Distance Radio Experiment,” 83. The radio dispatches were sponsored by General Foods, and used to promote Grape Nuts cereal.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 93.

³⁰⁹ Some claim that the “Mechanical Age” began with Shackleton's Expedition in 1921–22, as he planned to use an aeroplane. Mawson had also planned to use an aeroplane in his 1911–14 but it crashed prior on a test flight. He took it anyway to use as an “air-tractor”. Jacka and Jacka argue that World War I “formed a break between the ‘heroic era’ and the ‘mechanical era’ in the history of Antarctic exploration.” xlii.

³¹⁰ Bart, *Race to the Top*, iii.

³¹¹ In fact, Wilkins planned to fly to the northern Pole of Inaccessibility, not the North Geographic pole, but this fact was glossed over in much of the media coverage of the flights. Nasht, *The Last Great Explorer*, 140.

³¹² Maynard, *Wings of Ice*, 89.

Byrd's claims were immediately voiced, and General Billy Mitchell labeled the expedition "a stunt 'to sell magazines and radios,'"³¹³ Byrd was received back in the US as a hero. His return was carefully managed in order to maximise publicity; upon arriving back in the US on Thursday, June 18, 1926, Byrd was told to remain offshore for two days, as his "publicity people had arranged parades for the Saturday, when most people would be able to attend."³¹⁴ Such arrangements were all part of the hero business, designed to maximize publicity for the daring feats of exploration that continued to result in 'firsts.'

Following his success flying in the Arctic, Byrd turned his attention south – but he was not the only one. Nor was he the first to achieve flight over the Antarctic continent. Wilkins and Carl "Ben" Eielson's debut flight over the Antarctic Peninsula on December 20, 1928³¹⁵ opened up a new era of air-based exploration in the south, with aerial views dramatically increasing the speed at which coastlines and plateaus alike could be mapped. Flying offered a new perspective on the continent, making visible large swathes of previously inaccessible land, and accelerating the opportunities to map, chart, and name previously unknown territories. The year 1928 therefore marked an important moment in the Mechanical Age of Antarctic exploration – an age in which Antarctica was mapped and explored on a far greater scale than ever before.

Byrd's First Antarctic Expedition (1928–1930)

Byrd's first Antarctic expedition took place between 1928 and 1930. The highlight of the expedition was to be a flight over the South Pole, complete with radio commentary from the continent. Byrd had made his ambition known, justifying it in his 1928 book *Skyward* by claiming that "Aviation cannot claim mastery of the globe until the South Pole and its vast surrounding mystery be opened up by airplane."³¹⁶ Many of Byrd's sponsors agreed that a South Pole

³¹³ Rose, "Exploring a Secret Land," 175

³¹⁴ Maynard, *Wings of Ice*, 117.

³¹⁵ Clancy, Manning and Broolsma, "Antarctica – Wings over the Continent," 173.

³¹⁶ Byrd, *Skyward*, 300.

flight held a valuable allure – *The New York Times* was of the opinion that “flying to the South Pole and back would be the greatest feat in the history of exploration and aviation.”³¹⁷ This feat was achieved on November 29, 1929, at 1:14am. After circling the Pole, Byrd and his crew (Bernt Balchen, Harold June and Ashley McKinley) “dropped a flag weighted by a stone from [Floyd] Bennett’s grave, and returned to Little America.”³¹⁸ The South Pole flight has been described as “the apex of Byrd’s career;”³¹⁹ Byrd was immediately promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral (skipping the rank of Captain altogether),³²⁰ and returned to the United States as a national hero, with his achievements more feted than ever before.

The South Pole flight was entangled with media agreements from the start. Byrd’s previous arrangements with Current News Features regarding his North Pole flight had not been fulfilled; David Lawrence, from Current News Features, did not void the contract, however. Instead, “he suggested that Byrd attempt a South Pole flight on his next expedition.”³²¹ Lawrence had his eye on future headlines, as Matuozzi explains: “by terms of the 1926 contract he had already secured first option on Byrd’s first post-North Pole expedition.”³²² As a result, the South Pole flight that followed was “an adroit promotional move to maximize sales and profits for both Byrd and Current News Features.”³²³ Current News Features subsequently licensed coverage rights of Byrd’s first Antarctic expedition to *The New York Times* and *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, a deal that introduced another layer of media involvement; as part of the deal, the newspapers provided radio equipment. This allowed Russell D. Owen, a writer for *The New York Times* who was embedded in the Byrd expedition, to file regular reports from Little America. These reports not only gained an avid following, they were also respected for their journalistic quality; Owens

³¹⁷ Rodgers, “Richard E. Byrd’s First Antarctic Expedition,” 158.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 167. Bennett, who had made the first flight over the North Pole together with Byrd, was due to join the expedition as a pilot, but died of pneumonia shortly before departure.

³¹⁹ Hofstra, “Richard E. Byrd,” 148.

³²⁰ Rodgers, “Richard E. Byrd’s First Antarctic Expedition,” 167. President Hoover signed the measure promoting Byrd on December 21, 1929.

³²¹ Matuozzi, “Richard Byrd,” 222.

³²² Matuozzi, “Richard Byrd,” 222.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 225.

subsequently won the 1930 Pulitzer Prize for his Antarctic dispatches.³²⁴ Byrd had a vested interest in performing newsworthy acts throughout the expedition, as his remuneration was tied to media success. As the US\$1.1 million expedition³²⁵ was a private venture, funds had to be raised before it was possible to head south. Byrd described his fundraising efforts “as the ‘battle of New York,’ and ... spent months on the lecture circuit and hounded wealthy businessmen.”³²⁶ Edsel Ford and John D. Rockefeller Jr. both contributed towards expedition costs, private companies donated products in return for “the right to advertise their connection with the expedition,”³²⁷ and lucrative media deals provided valuable advances. Payment was also tied to performance: Matuozzi writes how “Byrd could earn additional payments at two-thirds of the adjusted gross sales receipts in the syndication market if sales exceeded the basic payment of \$60,000 for exclusive press rights to his story.”³²⁸ Adding to the news value of Byrd’s South Pole flight was the presence of Wilkins and Eielson in the Antarctic at the same time, with the same polar flight mandate from media baron William Randolph Hearst (as discussed in the previous chapter). This led to speculation over who would reach the Pole by aircraft first, reprising the rhetoric of the ‘race to the pole’ that was familiar from previous decades.

Byrd had already publicly explained how “an explorer must live up to his press contracts or forfeit his profit, the life blood of the expedition.”³²⁹ A nationwide competition to choose a boy scout to accompany Byrd was another way of generating widespread interest and column space:³³⁰ Paul Siple was chosen to represent the Boy Scouts of America on the 1928 Antarctic expedition.³³¹ These publicity-minded actions and media contracts, although central to expedition revenue, did draw criticism at the time. Byrd’s fellow expeditioner Finn Ronne slated the flight over the South Pole as a “stunt” conducted “for the publicity he

³²⁴ Rodgers, “Richard E. Byrd’s First Antarctic Expedition,” 172.

³²⁵ Ibid., 158.

³²⁶ Rose, *Explorer: The Life of Richard E. Byrd*, 180.

³²⁷ Rodgers, “Richard E. Byrd’s First Antarctic Expedition,” 158.

³²⁸ Matuozzi, “Richard Byrd,” 225.

³²⁹ Byrd, *Skyward*, 338.

³³⁰ Shackleton also took a boy scout south on his *Quest* expedition, so this is, in a sense, a carryover from the Heroic Era.

³³¹ Siple went on to publish his own account, entitled *A Boy Scout with Byrd* (1931), and to take part in five more Antarctic expeditions.

knew it would generate.”³³² That publicity was long-lived, as stories about the Antarctic expedition continued to hold value upon its return. Byrd released his (ghostwritten) official account entitled *Little America: Aerial Exploration in the Antarctic. The Flight to the South Pole* in 1930,³³³ while the film *With Byrd at the South Pole*, which was filmed by two paramount cameramen who accompanied the expedition, went on to win the 1930 Academy Award for photography.³³⁴ Both the book and the film helped to raise further funds for the expedition and sponsors, and to raise Byrd’s profile by keeping him in the public eye. Byrd’s flight over the South Pole – and the associated financial incentives to undertake the flight – offers a prime example of the tight relationship between media, sponsors, and exploration during the Mechanical Age of Antarctic exploration.

Byrd’s Second Antarctic Expedition (1933–35)

The close relationship with the media continued: Byrd’s second expedition (1933–1935) has been described as “the most media-saturated event in the history of the geographical exploration of Antarctica.”³³⁵ Expedition supporters included David Lawrence from Current News Features, Arthur Sulzberger of *The New York Times* and Emanuel Cohen from Paramount Pictures, as well as several senior executives from the National Geographic Society.³³⁶ Current News Features again sold publication rights of the story to *The New York Times*, which ran daily dispatches. Regular radio programming allowed for real-time updates from the Little America Base to be broadcast across the United States, ensuring public interest in the expedition remained high. Paramount Pictures agreed to send two cameramen along on the expedition, “provided the explorer could promise them material to create a ‘photographic record of a dramatic nature which has entertainment value.’”³³⁷ Byrd well understood what this meant – in a letter to Emanuel Cohen in June 1933, Byrd assured the film producer “I will go

³³² Rose, “Exploring a Secret Land,” 191.

³³³ The book carried Byrd’s by-line, but was ghostwritten by Charles J. V. Murphy.

³³⁴ Rodgers, “Richard E. Byrd’s First Antarctic Expedition,” 172.

³³⁵ Matuozi, “Richard Byrd,” 234.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 235.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 226.

to infinite pains to get the proper kind of movie. It is one of the ways I can keep from being a bankrupt.”³³⁸ Several films were created from footage shot in the Antarctic, including the official 53-minute documentary *Into LITTLE AMERICA* (1935).³³⁹ The story of the filming of the reels was also valuable, and Wallace West’s narrative appeared as a hardcover book entitled *Paramount Newsreel Men with Admiral Byrd in Little America* in 1934. Media therefore played a central role, not only in reporting on and reacting to the events of the second Byrd expedition, but in shaping the events before and while they were unfolding.³⁴⁰

When it came to narrative value, Byrd’s second expedition faced greater challenges than the first. With a flight over the South Pole already achieved, it was necessary to find alternative storylines with which to capture the public imagination. This was particularly true for a private expedition, which was reliant on sponsorship from some of the 30,000 companies and individuals approached by the Byrd team. “Luckily,” Byrd wrote in his account of the journey, “an expedition has something to sell besides its capacity to collect scientific data. It has ... a definite advertising and publicity value.”³⁴¹ For Byrd, the idea of wintering alone in a remote interior outpost, taking scientific measurements, and testing the limits of his own endurance, fulfilled the criteria of interest, and therefore advertising value. So it was that Byrd spent five months alone at the Bolling Advance Weather Base during the winter of 1934.³⁴²

Matuoizzi writes how

his curious self-imposed isolation in a small hut pitched in the Antarctic interior provided the media drama Byrd gambled on to keep his second Antarctic expedition financially solvent.³⁴³

The anticipated drama did follow – firstly, with disapproval from those in the United States who did not think Byrd should abandon his camp of 55 men, and

³³⁸ As quoted in Matuoizzi, “Richard Byrd, Polar Exploration, and the Media,” 230.

³³⁹ A film created by Pamela Theodotou from archival film material collected during Byrd’s expeditions, entitled “Byrd 1933: Films from the Discovery Lecture Series,” was released in 2015.

³⁴⁰ Matuoizzi, “Richard Byrd,” 216.

³⁴¹ Byrd, *Discovery*, 10.

³⁴² Day, *Antarctica*, 302. Byrd was alone from 28 March until 11 August 1934.

³⁴³ Matuoizzi, “Richard Byrd,” 231.

later when a faulty stove led Byrd to suffer carbon monoxide poisoning. He spent weeks fighting to find a balance between the warmth of the poisonous stove and the bitter cold of the Antarctic night. In his later account of the time, entitled *Alone*, Byrd explained that the original plan was to send several men to the base. When this proved impossible, Byrd faced a decision: “I had to choose whether to give up the Base entirely – and the scientific mission with it – or to man it by myself.”³⁴⁴ But Byrd also freely admitted that he “really wanted to go for the experience sake.”³⁴⁵ It was an experience that almost killed the leader, but also an experience that made for a best-selling narrative when the official account was published some four years later.

Aided by aircraft and contactable via radio, Byrd exemplified the Mechanical Age of Antarctic exploration. His flights opened up vast tracts of ice to the human eye, while the radio connection back to the United States was a valuable publicity asset. Byrd made use of newspaper, radio, and sponsorship opportunities in order to craft an image of himself as explorer, and of his expeditions as being exciting and newsworthy. At times the media sponsors were directly involved in the exploits of the expeditions – as seen with the flight over the South Pole. In other cases, Byrd sought to create situations with dramatic potential, such as when he spent 5 months in isolation over the Antarctic winter. In both instances, the narrative value of the expedition’s exploits was high on the expedition leader’s agenda. Following his return to the United States in 1935 Byrd was involved in three more Antarctic expeditions (1939–40, 1946–47, 1955–56).³⁴⁶ Connections with the media industry also continued – the MGM film *The Secret Land* was filmed during Operation Highjump in 1947. By the time Operation Deepfreeze I was launched in 1955, however, science had taken priority over tales of exploration and derring-do. Byrd has been described, therefore, as “The Last Explorer”³⁴⁷ – a historical figure who exemplifies the commercial, mechanical, and frontier-breaking world of exploration in the first half of the

³⁴⁴ Byrd, *Alone*, 3.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁴⁶ Unlike Byrd’s first two private Antarctic expeditions, these later examples were government sponsored.

³⁴⁷ Hoyt, *The Last Explorer*, 1.

twentieth century.

Byrd was forthright in acknowledging the importance of sponsorship in his expeditions. In his 1928 book *Skyward*, he used a cold-weather analogy to explain the situation:

Exploration has always been a battle between man and the elements. It is now; except that chilblains and thirst have given way to creditors and thrift.³⁴⁸

Byrd went on to draw parallels between the extremes of the polar environment, and those of financial hardship: “Sixty below zero still makes the brave leader quake. But his zero isn’t on the thermometer, but on the credit side of his expeditionary ledger.”³⁴⁹ Sponsorship and endorsements were a prime way of addressing the negative situation. The following section examines examples of print advertising, placed by sponsors of Byrd’s second Antarctic Expedition, before addressing the incident of the Antarctic cows (case study two) and a satirical novel with parallels to Byrd’s own situation (case study three).

Case Study One: Advertising *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure*

Sponsorship played a vital role in Byrd’s expeditions, but this investment was not altruistic. Instead, newspaper articles provided brand coverage, and in-situ photographs from the Antarctic offered a novel basis for marketing material. A 1935 booklet entitled *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure* features photographs and updates from Byrd’s team, alongside 24 advertisements for a range of products that were used during the 1933–1935 expedition. The products featured ranged from Husky Food (A1935j) and Oakite cleaning products (A1935h) to Ex-Lax (“America’s favorite laxative” A1935k), but the majority of these advertisements are for foods, medications, or toiletries. Except for a promotional piece from an advertising company and specialized aviation equipment from the Cleveland Pneumatic Tool Company, all are products that

³⁴⁸ Byrd, *Skyward*, 319.

³⁴⁹ Byrd, *Skyward*, 319.

ordinary Americans might have used at home. An advertisement for Nason's cod-liver oil (Figure 3.1) is a prime example of a product that was aimed at domestic consumers. This is made clear by the heading: "Your Child won't mind this "Easy-to-take" Cod Liver Oil."³⁵⁰ Antarctica was still, at this stage, a continent without any women or children present. Nevertheless, the advertisement features an image of a young child, along with a bottle of the cod liver oil in question, and would look at home in any number of other contemporary publications.

Only one mention is made of the Cod Liver Oil's Antarctic link – paragraph three notes that "This is the oil chosen by Admiral Byrd for the men of both his Antarctic expeditions." The main body of the advertisement is also separated by a black border from three Antarctic photographs in the margins of the page, creating separation between the familiar (shown in the conventional advertisement) and the remote. These carefully staged photographs from the Antarctic were taken to draw an explicit link between Nason's Cod Liver Oil and the expedition. An image captioned "All smiles – Nason's is Easy-to-Take" (Figure 3.1) features one expedition member pouring the oil into another member's open mouth. The other two images are explicitly set in the Antarctic – the lower image features two bottles of Nason's cod liver oil atop a safe that is embossed with the words "US Post Office. Little America. South Pole." The final photograph features penguins peering into a large pot, with the caption "Wise old birds – they, too insisted on Nason's with their daily ration." These images function to illustrate both how the product was used by the expedition, and how the expedition members fulfilled promotional obligations with sponsors.

³⁵⁰ "Nason's Cod Liver Oil" Advertisement. *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure*. 44.



Figure 3.1: A Nason's Cod Liver Oil advertisement with Antarctic photographs, 1935 (Source: *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure*, 1935)

Sponsor's Delight: Grape Nuts in Little America

The major sponsor of Byrd's second Antarctic expedition (1933–1935) was Grape Nuts cereal. The brand is now owned by Post Foods,³⁵¹ but was initially produced by the General Foods Company. Under the advice of Ralph Starr Butler, General Foods underwrote the cost of the Byrd's expedition.³⁵² This support was vital to the overall funding – Byrd wrote how the Grape Nuts sponsorship “kept life breathing in the expedition (financially) when the pulse had all but stopped.”³⁵³ General Foods also sponsored the weekly radio slot in which the expedition members reported about life on the ice – buying the radio time before

³⁵¹ Post Foods, “The Grape Nuts Story.”

³⁵² Wood, “A Pioneer in Marketing,” 69.

³⁵³ Byrd, *Discovery*, 110.

anyone “knew whether a single beep could be heard of the expedition’s scheduled weekly broadcasts from Little America.”³⁵⁴ Those broadcasts were indeed heard, however, and were accompanied by radio advertisements for Grape Nuts cereal. Even the Grape Nuts advertisements had tight Antarctic connections – Charles J.V. Murphy, a journalist who ghostwrote Byrd’s official expedition accounts, was also the voice behind the advertisements that preceded the weekly 30-minute broadcasts from Little America.³⁵⁵ Allusions to the cereal were frequently made in radio dispatches about the expedition,³⁵⁶ and were worked into humorous skits from Antarctica.³⁵⁷ As a result of the investment in radio time, and the brand’s close association with Byrd’s expedition, “Grape Nuts sales leaped 44 per cent.”³⁵⁸ The placement of one corporate sponsor in such a central role was a new development in polar exploration,³⁵⁹ but it also proved to be a lucrative investment for the sponsor.

During Byrd’s second Antarctic expedition, Grape Nuts branding also drew on Antarctic connections back home. General Foods printed a free newspaper to supplement the radio show *South Pole Radio News* (4 editions), while Grape Nuts branded maps of the expedition flight routes were included on boxes of cereal and given away as colouring-in activities.³⁶⁰ The “Authorized Map of the Second Byrd Antarctic Expedition” (Figure 3.2) touted the technological advances associated with the expedition in terms of radio, highlighting the regular broadcasts from Little America. The role of Grape Nuts in these early dispatches from Antarctica is also made explicit on the official map:

Hailed by leading authorities as an important contribution to radio science, this [radio] series is made possible by General Foods, makers of Grape Nuts.³⁶¹

³⁵⁴ Wood, “A Pioneer in Marketing,” 69.

³⁵⁵ Davis, “The Admiral at the Ends of the Earth.” Murphy was also a CBS Broadcaster, and editor of *Fortune* magazine

³⁵⁶ Perry, “CBS’s Long Distance Radio Experiment,” 88. For instance, mention was made of how Grape Nuts was to “act as Santa Claus for all children of fathers who are down there” in Antarctica.

³⁵⁷ Perry, “CBS’s Long Distance Radio Experiment,” 93.

³⁵⁸ Wood, “A Pioneer in Marketing,” 69.

³⁵⁹ Matuozzi, “Richard Byrd,” 229.

³⁶⁰ Davis, “The Admiral at the Ends of the Earth.”

³⁶¹ Annand, “Authorized map of the second Byrd Antarctic expedition.”



Figure 3.2: Grape Nuts official map of Byrd's second Antarctic expedition, 1934
(Source: American Geographical Society 070 B-1934)

The fact that General Foods published the official map of the expedition is also significant. Mapping has long been associated with power over a landscape,³⁶² and by publishing and releasing the official expedition map General Foods was demonstrating power over the dissemination of geographical knowledge. One could not access the visual representation of the expedition's activities without being exposed to the sponsor's brand message. This is a prime example of how the makers of the cereal wanted to be sure that their brand was associated with Antarctica and with the celebrity explorer Byrd, and they used every opportunity to ensure maximum exposure. The brand's Antarctic history continues to be highlighted today, with the official Grape Nuts website boasting that

in 1933, Post Grape-Nuts sponsored Sir Admiral Byrd's expedition to Antarctica, where the first two-way radio transmission occurred... This was a huge milestone in the scientific community, and Grape-Nuts helped

³⁶² Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 129.

make it possible!³⁶³

Grape Nuts still draws on this history, sponsoring extreme activities such as the 2014 “What’s Your Mountain?” expedition to the South Pole (an event that will be explored further Chapter 7).³⁶⁴

General Foods also made their connection with Byrd’s second expedition known with a one-page advertisement in the booklet *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure* (Figure 3.3). Links between the Antarctic and domestic spaces in the US are drawn from the start, with the text reading:

Daily... when the breakfast gong sounded at “Little America” ... the members of the Second Byrd Antarctic Expedition enjoyed the same sort of delicious fare that millions of Americans were eating at home.

Framing the advertisement in this way offers consumers in the United States a chance to enjoy an imagined connection with those in the Antarctic, fostering what Benedict Anderson calls an “imagined community”³⁶⁵ right across the country.

The advertisement also includes an offer to readers, presented beneath a portrait of Byrd and the text “FREE while they last!” By sending in one full sized Grape Nuts package to General Foods, they could redeem it for “a copy of this beautiful etching of Admiral Byrd, 8 x 10 inches, finished in sepia and ready for framing,” complete with a facsimile of Byrd’s autograph. The etching itself has little to do with the cereal product, but General Foods capitalized on Byrd’s popularity, offering a portrait of the celebrity to those who bought its product. Grape Nuts was not the only General Foods item to head south; the advertisement also highlights the brand names of a range of other General Foods products used by the expedition, with 11 more items – including Log Cabin Syrup and Jell-O Ice Cream Powder – listed at the foot of the page. Grape Nuts was, however, the headline product: General Foods sent 2,300 pounds of Grape Nuts to the Antarctic in order to associate the brand with a story that attracted much public interest, and, ultimately, to use this as a platform to sell more cereal.

³⁶³ Post Foods, “The Grape Nuts Story.”

³⁶⁴ Post Grape Nuts, “What’s Your Mountain?”

³⁶⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

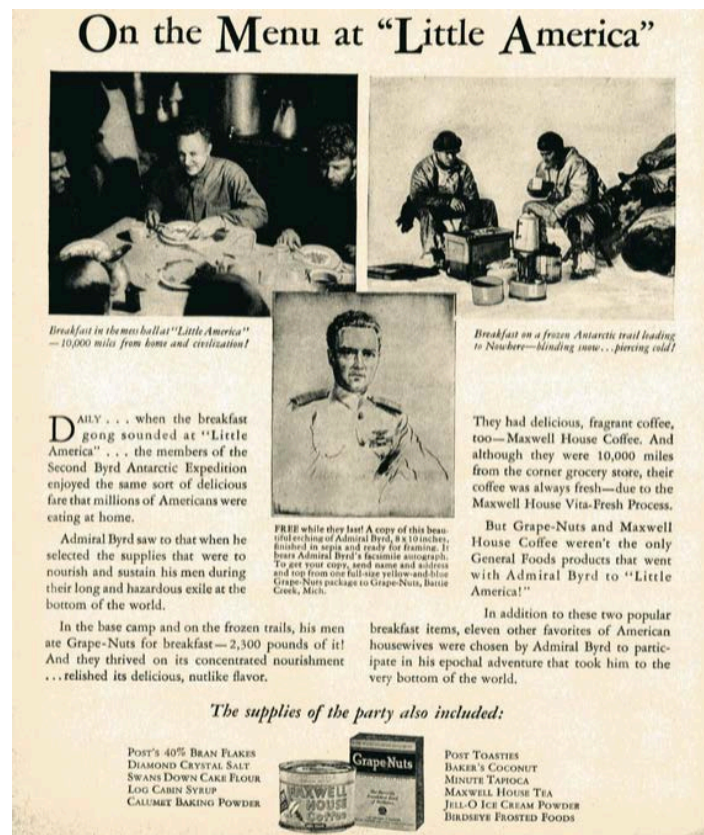


Figure 3.3: General Foods advertisement featuring Little America, 1935
(Source: *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure*, 1935)

Flying High with Horlick's Malted Milk

Wisconsin businessman William Horlick supported Byrd's second expedition with malted milk products and funding, and the promotional value of this investment is clear in a two-page advertisement in *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure* (Figure 3.4 and Figure 3.5). The first page features an image of "the giant seaplane 'William Horlick'" – provided by and named after the owner of the malted milk company.³⁶⁶ Byrd was famous for his earlier flights in both the Arctic and Antarctic regions, so having an aircraft named after a sponsor was a sure way of gaining more publicity for the brand name in subsequent news

³⁶⁶ "William Horlick with Admiral Byrd," 1.

items. Another benefit of sponsoring early Antarctic expeditions was that geographical features were frequently named after donors; the Horlick mountain range in the transantarctic mountains continues to carry the name of Byrd's sponsor.³⁶⁷ Planes and mountain ranges aside, such sponsorship deals also offered value in terms of domestic advertising potential. Having been taken to Antarctica on multiple occasions, the Horlick's product was able to call upon its history of sustaining explorers under the toughest of conditions. The advertisement text that appears alongside the "William Horlick" seaplane in *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure* explains how "the pure, full-cream cow's milk and nourishing grains in Horlick's contain the vital food elements – protein, carbohydrates, fat, essential minerals, and the valuable vitamins." The trope of extremity is invoked, with malted milk presented as an "invaluable" food for sustaining those in tough conditions. William Horlick was not only a man, but also the namesake for a plane and a large food brand. The advertisement conflates the latter two, associating the malted milk product with Antarctic exploration, thus increasing the public's interest in both.

³⁶⁷ United States Geographic Survey, "Horlick Mountains."

Byrd Antarctic Expedition



A Byrd Expedition husky guarding shipment of Horlick's

Radiogram from Advance Base

WILLIAM HORLICK
RACINE, WISCONSIN
I AM DRINKING YOUR MALTED MILK
DAILY. IT IS A GREAT HELP.
R. E. BYRD

MAY 17, 1934

Radiogram From Admiral Byrd at Little America

WILLIAM HORLICK
RACINE, WISCONSIN
YOU WILL BE GLAD TO HEAR HORLICK'S MALTED
MILK HAS BEEN MOST BENEFICIAL TO MEN AND HAS
SAVED LIVES OF SEVERAL SICK DOGS.

FEBRUARY 23, 1934

THE pure, full-cream cow's milk and nourishing grains in Horlick's contain the vital food elements—protein, carbohydrates, fat, essential minerals, and the valuable vitamins.

Horlick's Malted Milk is a self-contained product. It is not necessary to add ordinary milk or any flavoring, unless desired. It requires only to be well mixed with water to make a nourishing, easily digested food-drink for all, from infancy to old age.

A cup of Horlick's, hot, before retiring,

The Original



soothes and relaxes, brings sound, refreshing sleep. It agrees with the weakest stomach.

Horlick's Lunch Tablets contain the same valuable nourishment as the powder form. Dissolved in the mouth, they offer energy-giving nutrition, a convenient lunch whenever hungry or fatigued.

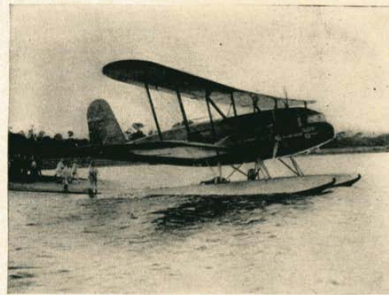
Insist upon HORLICK'S, the Original and Genuine.

Malted Milk

HORLICK'S

In natural and chocolate flavors—In powder and tablet form

Important Allies of the Second



The Giant Seaplane "William Horlick"

Used by Admiral Byrd in his Second Expedition to the South Pole which was christened William Horlick in honor of the Originator of Malted Milk.

LIKE many other noted explorers and aviators, Admiral Byrd finds in Horlick's Malted Milk the ideal combination of all food elements in the most digestible and concentrated form known. Before embarking on his second expedition, he said:

"There is one really strength-giving food for the explorer, in powder or tablet form — Horlick's the Original Malted Milk. Such a food I found invaluable on my expeditions to both the North and South Poles and in my flight across the Atlantic.

"That is why we have selected HORLICK'S as one of the principal elements of food for our expedition, to keep the members in good health."

Peary, Amundsen, Scott, Theodore Roosevelt, and more than a score of other explorers have also carried Horlick's on their expeditions and have depended upon it as a nourishing and strength-giving concentrated food.

Horlick's Malted Milk Corp., Racine, Wis.

Double page Horlicks advertising spread, Figure 3.4 (top) and Figure 3.5 (bottom), 1935 (Source: The Romance of Antarctic Adventure, 1935)

While the inclusion of an aeroplane places page one of the Horlick's advertisement squarely in the Mechanical Age of exploration, the facing page invokes echoes of Heroic Era promotional strategies. The advertisement includes a photograph of a sled dog sitting in front of crates of malted milk, and a sign that reads "Byrd Antarctic Expedition." Any sponsor that provided a particular product could expect a photograph of said product about to be loaded onto the expedition ship, and another of the image in use in the Antarctic. These promotional images are similar to those from the earlier Heroic Era, such as the photograph of Scott's husky next to the His Master's Voice gramophone. The advertisement's text also draws link to the Heroic Era. Under the headline "Important Allies of the Second Byrd Antarctic Expedition," the advertisement promotes "the ideal combination of all food elements in the most digestible and concentrated form known" – a combination used by "Peary, Amundsen, Scott, Theodore Roosevelt, and more than a score of other explorers" (Figure 3.4). Byrd's two testimonials, presented in the form of radiogram text, serve to add his own name to this illustrious list of explorers:

May 17 1934

William Horlick

Racine, Wisconsin

I am drinking your malted milk daily. It is a great help.

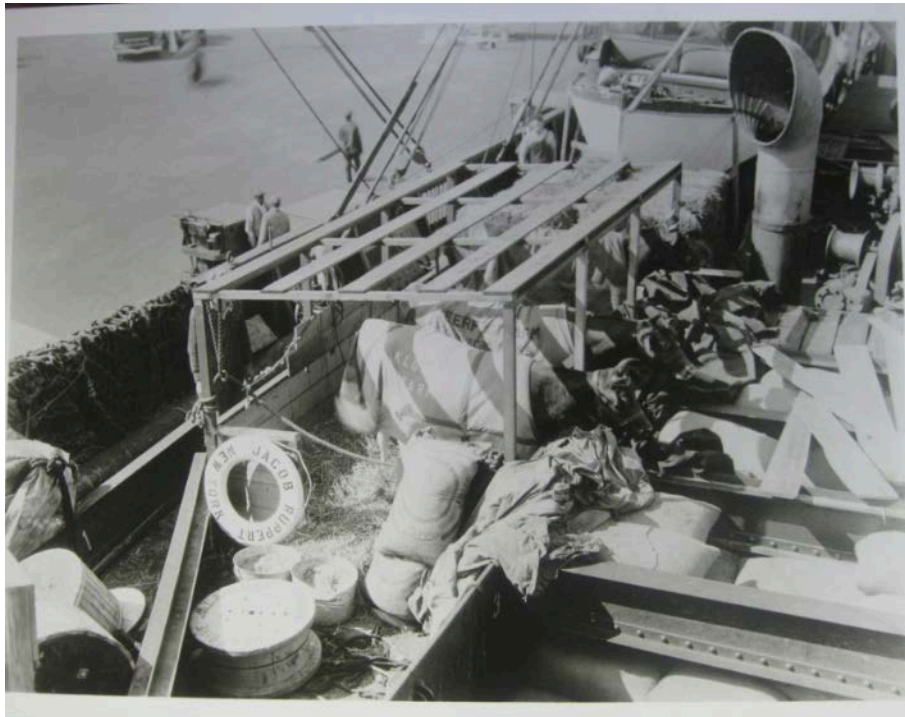
R.E. Byrd

The use of these kinds of endorsements in advertising material during the 1930s indicates that the advertising norms that were established in the first decades of the twentieth century continued to have influence in the subsequent Mechanical Age of exploration.

Case Study Two: Antarctic Cows solve "The Milk Problem"

The inclusion of a two-page advertisement for Horlick's Malted Milk in *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure* is all the more remarkable given that Byrd's second Antarctic expedition had ready access to fresh milk. In 1933 the S.S. *Jacob*

Ruppert set sail for Antarctica with three Golden guernsey cows on board³⁶⁸ – “the first cows ever to venture into the frozen wastes of the South Pole Region”³⁶⁹ (Figure 3.6). This incident has been overlooked in scholarship because it is seen as a quirky aside. In fact, the polar dairy is a prime example of how Byrd manufactured drama for his expeditions, and made use of sponsorship in order to attract further publicity. The episode therefore reveals much about the relationship between advertising, sponsorship and exploration.



*Figure 3.6: Klondike Gay Nira, Deerfoot Guernsey Maid, and Foremost Southern Girl on board the S.S. Jacob Ruppert in 1933
(Source: Wisconsin Historical Society, WHS-127997)*

Officially speaking, the cows were intended to solve “the milk problem”³⁷⁰ of the expedition. In the early years of the 1900s, the milk problem related to difficulties with refrigeration, and milk as a vector for diseases like tuberculosis. By 1933, advances in technology had made milk safe, and it was so widespread

³⁶⁸ For a detailed account of the voyage of Klondike Gay Nira, Deerfoot Guernsey Maid and Foremost Southern Girl, see Nielsen, “Hoofprints in Antarctica.”

³⁶⁹ *Admiral Byrd takes Larro to the South Pole*, 2.

³⁷⁰ American Guernsey Cattle Club, *Polar Guernseys*, 3.

across the US that “the milk problem” in Antarctica – from the perspective of Byrd’s men – was that there were no cows.³⁷¹ Objectively speaking, fresh milk was not a necessity: previous (and subsequent) Antarctic expeditions had all relied on powdered milk for baking, cooking, and use in beverages. By the 1930s, however, milk was being promoted as the essential drink of middle (and white) America. It carried useful symbolic associations with “purity and abundance,” as well as “mothers, nurturance, and wholesome ‘natural’ food.”³⁷² Milk was also associated with a mythologised history, dating back to the first years of European settlement in America.³⁷³ The polar dairy called upon these connotations, and used them to connect with the American public back home.

Milk itself, then, was not the only – or even perhaps the primary – reason for taking cows to Antarctica. In most cases, Byrd’s sponsors provided tangible goods that were necessary for the expedition – items such as stoves, fuel, and aeroplanes. The cows were named for their home farms: Deerfoot Guernsey Maid from Deerfoot Farms in Southboro, Massachusetts; Foremost Southern Girl from Emmadine Farm of Hopewell Junction, New York; and the pregnant Klondike Gay Nira from Klondike Farm in Elkin, North Carolina.³⁷⁴ They therefore acted as walking advertisements in their own right. Yet the cows also added novelty to the expedition, a quality that in turn helped the expedition attract further sponsorship. This was particularly important in the context of the 1933 expedition, as there was a danger of failing to accomplish anything new – Byrd had already achieved his crowning glory of a flight over the South Pole on his previous expedition. Interest in the expedition was heightened with a press release from the American Guernsey Cattle Club (which was repeated verbatim in newspapers including *The Schoharie Republican*)³⁷⁵ in which the club described the twelve thousand mile journey as “the longest trip that any cows

³⁷¹ For more on the “milk problem” as it relates to Byrd’s guernseys, see Leane and Nielsen, “American Cows in Antarctica..”

³⁷² Valenze, *Milk*, 260.

³⁷³ As Du Puis and others explain, the widespread adoption of milk as a drink (rather than the basis for cheese and other products) actually began in the nineteenth-century, within an urban setting. Du Puis, *Nature’s Perfect Food*, 4-5.

³⁷⁴ American Guernsey Cattle Club, *Polar Guernseys*, 2.

³⁷⁵ “Guernsey Cows Stand Polar Trip,” 6.

have ever taken since the well-known cow jumped over the moon.”³⁷⁶ The golden guernseys therefore offer a useful case study to examine the relationship between Byrd, exploration, and the media scene of the 1930s.

Taking cows south also offered the opportunity for Byrd to claim multiple ‘firsts’ – he knew from experience that firsts in the Polar Regions meant media coverage. With this in mind, Klondike Gay Nira was an important addition to the expedition; although taking cows provided a first in its own right, Byrd hedged his bets by ensuring that a calf would be born *en route* to the ice, providing a further newsworthy event. When Klondike gave birth to a bull calf on December 19, 247 miles north of the Antarctic circle,³⁷⁷ news of the event was quickly radioed home to the United States, where it soon appeared in *The New York Times* and other media publications. The calf – dubbed “Iceberg” after the chilly surroundings, and in reference to the fact that icebergs are also born by “calving”³⁷⁸ – was born slightly further north than planned, as foggy conditions followed by a gale put the ship behind schedule. The captain of the *Jacob Ruppert* reportedly advised Cox “to borrow the Admiral’s plane and fly Klondike across the [Antarctic] circle, because that calf ain’t goin’ to wait for no man.”³⁷⁹ Given that Elsworth Bunce (representative of the American Guernsey Cattle Club) had milked the first cow to fly in an aeroplane just three years earlier,³⁸⁰ this suggestion was less far-fetched than it may seem.³⁸¹ Iceberg’s birth was announced in the December 1933 edition of the *Little America Times*, a monthly publication about Byrd and Ellsworth’s simultaneous polar expeditions that was edited by August Horowitz. The writer provided an imaginative description of Klondike’s first: “not caring to quibble about a few degrees of latitude, she quietly achieved the everlasting duty of her sex.”³⁸² This story, which covers nearly an entire page of the publication, indicates that there was interest in the

³⁷⁶ American Guernsey Cattle Club, *Polar Guernseys*, 2.

³⁷⁷ *The Larro Dealer*, January 1934.

³⁷⁸ American Guernsey Cattle Club, *Polar Guernseys*, 2. The expeditioners had a penchant for puns: should the calf have been a heifer, it would have been called “Lucille” “because of the many loose seals in Little America.” *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁷⁹ “Iceberg, Bull Calf,” B6.

³⁸⁰ Lewis, *The Illustrated Guide to Cows*, 7. Bovine Aviation Day continues to be celebrated on 18 February, the anniversary of Elm Farm Ollie’s flight.

³⁸¹ Nielsen, “Hoofprints in Antarctica,” 9.

³⁸² “Iceberg, Bull Calf,” B6.

story of the Antarctic calf, and that the interest went further than simply knowing the date and latitude at which he was born. The value of the cows to the expedition lay not in their milk, but in their public profile and ability to capture media attention.

Product Placement: Feed, Barns, and Building a Brand

Several expedition sponsors also had a particular interest in the exploits of Byrd's polar dairy. Iceberg's birth was subsequently celebrated in the January 1934 edition of *The Larro Dealer*, which triumphantly claimed that the calf was "already better known to the outside world than most of the explorers themselves."³⁸³ Photographs of the cows and details of their Antarctic experience were also featured in promotional materials for the James Manufacturing Company and the Larrow Milling Company, creators of Larro Dairy Feed. A fourteen-page booklet published in 1934 highlights the brand of fodder, and the role of the cows and to the expedition: *Admiral Byrd takes Larro to the South Pole* begins by announcing "what a splendid compliment to Larro Dairy Feed and dried beet pulp to have been chosen as the grain ration in this great test."³⁸⁴ The booklet presents Antarctica as a remote and hostile place, where both men and cows are cast as "prisoners of the vast ice pack which surrounds the great continent."³⁸⁵ These conditions make a palatable, wholesome, milk-producing, high-quality feed³⁸⁶ – such as Larro – all the more vital. Using the guernseys as a case in point, the booklet proclaims that "even in Antarctica, good cows, good feed and good management can be relied upon to get good results."³⁸⁷ For Larro, taking cows to Antarctica could also be relied upon to create headlines and to provide opportunities to promote the brand.

³⁸³ *The Larro Dealer*, January 1934.

³⁸⁴ *Admiral Byrd takes Larro to the South Pole*, 2.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁸⁶ Nielsen, "Hoofprints in Antarctica."

³⁸⁷ *Admiral Byrd takes Larro to the South Pole*, 14.

Much uncertainty always attends getting through the pack. If the weather warms up enough to break up the pack, ships get through it without difficulty. But if the weather is unfavorable they must fight for every inch, always menaced by the possibility of being frozen in and thus rendered unable to move in any direction.

Admiral Byrd is better equipped this time to fight the battle of the ice pack than he was on his previous expedition. The big oil-burning freighter *Jacob Ruppert* has powerful engines and its hull has been spe-

Here is Deerfoot's Guernsey Maid getting her first taste of Larro after being led aboard the *Jacob Ruppert*.



Figure 3.7: Deerfoot Guernsey Maid starred in a Larro promotional booklet, along with a sack of branded feed, 1934
(Source: Admiral Byrd takes Larro to the South Pole, 8)

The photographs featured in *Admiral Byrd takes Larro to the South Pole* are telling of the commercial side of the expedition. They depict the cows beside the S.S. *Jacob Ruppert*, posing with sacks of Larro feed (Figure 3.7), and confined to their stalls on board the vessel that will carry them south. The composition of these photographs is significant, as they have been taken with a future commercial purpose in mind. Page 8 of the brochure features “Deerfoot Guernsey Maid getting her first taste of Larro after being led aboard the *Jacob Ruppert*.”³⁸⁸ The sack of Larro feed is positioned in the foreground of the photograph, so that the brand and manufacturer’s name are clearly visible to the camera. The blatant product placement within this image is similar to that seen in endorsements for human-related products. It is an example of a company drawing on both the celebrity of Byrd (or in this case, his cows) and the extremity of the South Pole in order to promote a product, and illustrates how

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 8.

even the most far-fetched of wares were able to capitalize on an Antarctic connection.

Cattle feed was not the only bovine-related product to head south with Byrd - once in Antarctica, the three cows and young bull required lodgings. A specially designed cow barn was transported to Little America for the purpose. Several floor plans of the barn were created, intended for use by the companies that had provided dairy resources. One such floor plan is included on the final page of the Larro booklet (Figure 3.8). This version specifies that the hay-straw storage area in the top right hand corner of the diagram will be filled with "Larro feed pulp and alfalfa."³⁸⁹ An alternative version of the floor plan, sent to the James Manufacturing Company, does not specify the brand of feed to be used. Instead, this version is annotated as being "Jamesway equipped", and the label on the "shelf for milking machine" has been amended to read "shelf for Surge milking machine,"³⁹⁰ making explicit the commercial side of Byrd's decision to take cows with him to the Antarctic. Companies were encouraged to provide materials, and then capitalise on the Antarctic connections of their product. Further, the differing labels on the floor plans were tailored specifically for each sponsor, in order to avoid any conflicts. Providing materials for an Antarctic expedition was a way of generating brand publicity back home in the US.

A November 1933 letter from Elsworth Bunce to Mr C. L. Burlingham of the James Manufacturing Company further underscores this commercial link. Having first apologised for being "a little weak on photographs of Jamesway equipment with the cows," Bunce refers to the barn floor plan, telling Burlingham "You will notice in the drawing we marked the Jamesway equipment and of course mentioned it in all our stories and over the radio."³⁹¹ Bunce goes on to consider the future publicity that could be offered by the cows:

Jamesway and Larro, Surge Milking Machine Company and the American Guernsey Cattle Club could get together and put on a barn storming tour

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 14.

³⁹⁰ *Guernsey Cow Barn For Little America.*

³⁹¹ Bunce, "Letter to C.L. Burlingham."

of the big fairs with a suitable exhibit and probably a team of dogs and a dog sledge.³⁹²

This suggestion was greeted warmly by Mr Burlingham, who promised to “make good use” of the material relating to Byrd’s cows. Burlingham went on to assure Bunce that “you have put over a splendid job in a publicity way.”³⁹³ Such correspondence carries echoes of the telegrams exchanged between Commander Evans of Scott’s *Terra Nova* expedition and the maker of the His Master’s Voice gramophone some 20 years earlier (discussed in Chapter 1). By the time Byrd’s second expedition headed south, commercial sponsorship arrangements involving images and testimonials were taken for granted as an integral part of the expedition.

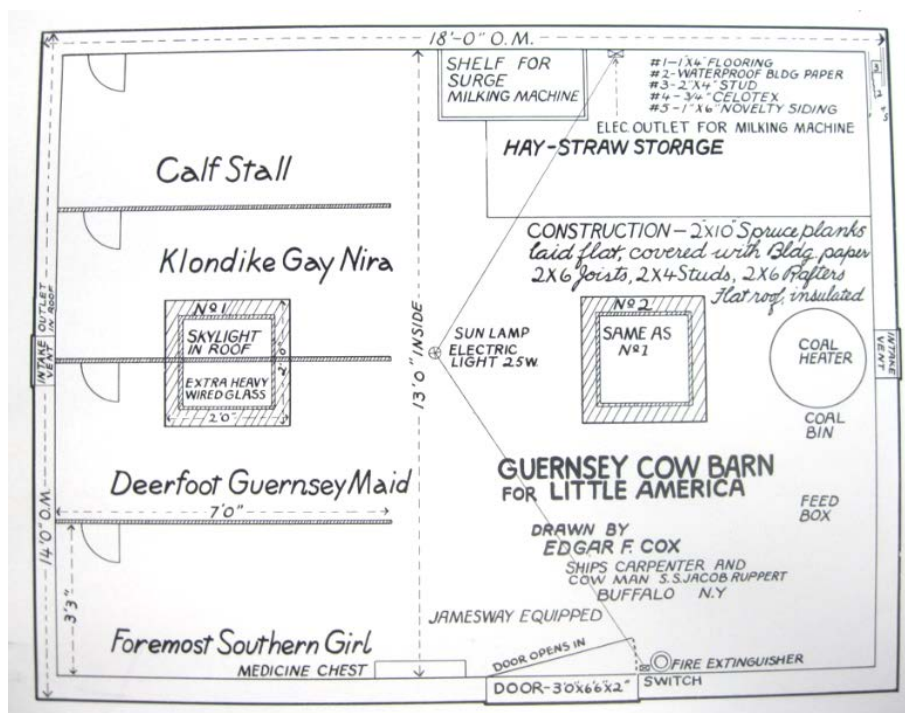


Figure 3.8: Cow Barn floor plan as produced for the James Manufacturing Company, 1933 (Source: Guernsey Cow Barn For Little America, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Box 12, Folder 8 – Whitewater Mss AW Publicity Files – So. Pole Expedition, 1933-1934)

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid.

The Antarctic Cows Come Home

Prior to departure, Byrd told the media he intended to show his skeptical friends “that we can bring these cows back and return them to their owners.”³⁹⁴ As a result of this assertion, the cows’ survival in Antarctica said something at a personal level about Byrd as hero, as well as more broadly about the United States’ ability to occupy the Antarctic continent. Unfortunately, Klondike Gay Nira contracted frostbite in the winter, which in the latter part of the year spread into a “ghastly sore”.³⁹⁵ Although dairyman Cox and the expedition doctor Louis Potaka treated her regularly, Klondike’s condition did not improve. In a diary entry from early December, Cox wrote “it looks bad for her,” before going on to lament “... I hate like the devil to do away with her but I suppose in the end she will have to go.”³⁹⁶ Potaka shot Klondike through the head on December 15, 1934 after she “got down and could not get up on her feet” again.³⁹⁷ The remaining three guernseys flourished, however, and were in top condition upon their return to the US the following year. They were not the only animals on board the *S.S. Jacob Ruppert* when she sailed into port in May 1935; the *Little America Times* detailed the menagerie of the “floating zoo,” with 67 husky dogs, a galvanised iron swimming pool full of Antarctic penguins, a cage full of “tropical love birds,” and iguanas from the Galapagos on board.³⁹⁸ All were treated to an enthusiastic welcome.

The record-breaking calf, Iceberg, was welcomed to the United States as a hero. He was invited to luncheons and farm shows as the guest of honour, and even travelled to Washington to meet Henry A. Wallace, the Secretary of Agriculture,³⁹⁹ who marvelled at the way the calf turned his nose up at the lushest of grass. As the expeditioners explained, he had never seen grass before, having been raised on a diet of dried beet pulp, hay, and cattle feed. On May 15,

³⁹⁴ Admiral Byrd takes Larro to the South Pole, 3.

³⁹⁵ Byrd, *Discovery*, 349.

³⁹⁶ Cox, *Diary*, 2 Dec 1934.

³⁹⁷ Young, *With Admiral Byrd's Second Antarctic Expedition*, 55.

³⁹⁸ “S.S. Jacob Ruppert is Floating Zoo,” B4.

³⁹⁹ “Byrd’s Bull Spurns First Offer of Grass,” B5.

1935 Iceberg – now a 1,100 pound bull – and Foremost Southern Girl were presented to the annual luncheon meeting of the American Guernsey Cattle Club, held at the Hotel Commodore.⁴⁰⁰ They enjoyed “hay cocktails – heaps of hay with cracked ice”⁴⁰¹ and posed for photographs (Figure 3.9), turning the annual event into a particularly memorable occasion. Although it was reported that Iceberg “grunted vociferously”⁴⁰² throughout the speeches, he was soon placated with (Larro brand) dairy feed. At the same occasion Lieut. Commander G.O. Neville accepted a medal “for distinguished service to the dairy industry” from the Guernsey Club on Admiral Byrd’s behalf.⁴⁰³ The cows therefore provided valuable publicity for Byrd’s expedition, for their namesake farms, and for the Guernsey Cattle Association, illustrating how Antarctic-related activities were closely bound up with the world of commerce back home.

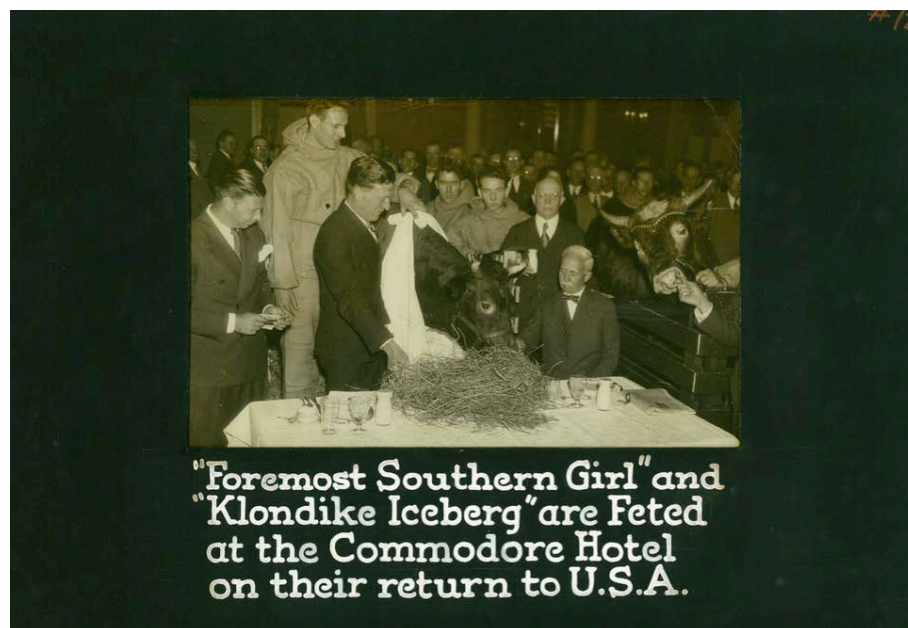


Figure 3.9: Lantern slide of the cows' homecoming, 1935

(Source: Byrd Polar and Climate Research Center, Cox Box 1 Folder 14)

⁴⁰⁰ "Byrd Cattle Eat Lunch At Hotel," B5.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., B5.

⁴⁰² Ibid., B5.

⁴⁰³ "Antarctic Calf Heard," 11.

By taking cows to Antarctica and back again, Byrd may well have “furnishe[d] an excuse for a lot of farmers to leave the broken windows in the stable go another winter.”⁴⁰⁴ He also ensured that his second Antarctic expedition would have a newsworthy point of difference. The birth of Iceberg in the Southern Ocean ensured headline space back in the US, while the safe return of three animals offered further opportunities for publicity. As the cows were used to raise the profile of both the products used on the Byrd expedition and the expedition itself, it is easy to contend that their purpose was as much, if not more, to create publicity as it was to produce fresh milk for the men’s health. Far more than simply the solution to the “milk problem,” Byrd’s cows highlight the historical relationship between Antarctic exploration, media, and commerce.

Case Study Three: Byrd, Satire and “Bird Life at the Pole”

By the time the S.S. *Jacob Ruppert* set sail for the south with the guernseys on board, there were many elements of polar exploration that had already been parodied. Polar expeditions were a prime target for such treatment because of their high public profile, and the close association between media and the explorers. Wolcott Gibbs – staff writer for the *New Yorker*, frequent contributor to the *New York Times*, friend of the Algonquin Round Table and colleague of E.B. White and Dorothy Parker⁴⁰⁵ – was the first to express acerbic opinions on polar exploration in novel form. Gibbs’ 1931 novel *Bird Life at the Pole* satirizes the relationship between explorers and the media, both in structure (the book is supposedly told to Gibbs by a returned explorer), and in narrative substance.

While several scholars have written on the topic of Antarctic literature, none have yet examined this novel, in part because there are very few Antarctic comedies with which to compare it. *Bird Life at the Pole* is nevertheless a useful case study when considering the history of Antarctic exploration and its relationship with the media, as it points to the ludicrousness of these

⁴⁰⁴ *Polar Guernseys Withstand First Test*, 3.

⁴⁰⁵ Yardley, “Backward Ran Sentences.”

Chapter one of *Bird Life at the Pole* is entitled “Mr Herbst Decides that I Shall Go South for the Winter, and Explains the Strange Relationship of Publicity and Poles.” In a reversal of the situation where would-be explorers approached newspapers for funding, the US publishing magnate Mr Herbst phones British explorer Christopher Robin to inform him of the media-centered plan:

You’re going to the South Pole, and when you come back – if you come back – you’re going to write a series of four hundred articles for the Herbst papers, describing your experiences. I expect these articles to be thoroughly sound and scientific, and at the same time, so simple that the smallest child can understand them.⁴⁰⁷

Even in the early days of Antarctic exploration, science was the currency of the continent, as it was science that legitimated territorial exploration.⁴⁰⁸ The conflict between science and action was topical for explorers; while science was necessary to provide a “veneer of public credibility,”⁴⁰⁹ selling the story was also important, so the narrative of the scientific expedition needed to be engaging and appeal to a wide audience. Gibbs highlights the difference between two modes of communication – technical and tabloid – and the ridiculousness of expecting someone who is an explorer by trade to be an expert in both.

Later, Gibbs has his fictional news baron go further, shaping the expedition down to the minute details. At the end of winter, a message arrives from Herbst:

have instructed editors discovery will be made may fourth eleven a.m.
stop please do not disappoint as have reserved headlines for that day
postponing rather important murder stop Herbst.⁴¹⁰

The connections with Herbst’s real-life counterpart were uncomfortably close. After the famous aviator Charles Lindbergh turned down a media deal from William Randolph Hearst on the grounds of sensationalism,⁴¹¹ Hearst famously sent word to his publishers that he would like to know about explorers’ stunts in

⁴⁰⁷ Gibbs, *Bird Life at the Pole*, 21.

⁴⁰⁸ Consider the legacy of Robert Falcon Scott, who was hailed as a hero in part because of his scientific agenda, and the way he transported geological samples throughout his entire South Pole trek.

⁴⁰⁹ Wilson, *The Lost Photographs of Captain Scott*, 23.

⁴¹⁰ Gibbs, *Bird Life at the Pole*, 117.

⁴¹¹ Nasht, *The Last Great Explorer*, 188.

advance in future so he could arrange deals and dictate the terms of the activity accordingly.⁴¹² This led to Wilkins receiving a series of prescriptive and threatening messages during his *Nautilus* North Pole expedition, with Hearst urging Wilkins to continue despite technical issues with the submarine, and newspaper editors asking whether he intended on fulfilling his obligations with regards to the contract.⁴¹³ Byrd, too, followed the wishes of his media sponsors when it came to his 1928 South Pole flight – and was rewarded financially for delivering on the newsworthy feat. In both instances, “heroic deeds were what the public wanted, not reams of esoteric data,”⁴¹⁴ and Gibbs makes fun of the lengths that both media magnates and explorers were willing to go to in order to ensure such heroic deeds took place.

Fictional Photographs: Product Placement in “Bird Life At the Pole”

Heroic and newsworthy deeds were valuable, but expeditions needed to be financed in order for events to take place. The proposed expedition from *Bird Life at the Pole* will, Herbst tells Robin, cost \$10 million: “The last one – that Swedish fellow – spent a million. We want this one to be ten times as big, ten times as scientific.”⁴¹⁵ Herbst does not intend on paying this sum himself though; instead, he plans to use philanthropy, sponsorships and endorsements to finance the whole expedition:

I’m not going to spend a dime if I can help it. The money is all going to be contributed – half of it by rich men like Kahn, the other half by manufacturers.⁴¹⁶

Many Antarctic expeditions were indeed financed in this way, through a combination of private donations, product endorsements, and exclusive news contracts to sell the story upon the expedition’s return. In the case of Byrd’s first and second expeditions, all of the above strategies were used in order to make

⁴¹² Ibid., 188.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 240.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 219.

⁴¹⁵ Gibbs, *Bird Life at the Pole*, 25. Gibbs questions whether scientific value can be ‘bought,’ and whether it increases just because the cost of an expedition increases.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 25.

the expedition viable. “Rich men” including Edsel Ford and John D. Rockefeller Jr. provided funding, as did manufacturers such as William Horlick and General Foods. The competitive element of making an expedition bigger and better than any of its predecessors is a part of the media landscape – in order to have news value, the expedition needed to offer something novel that had not been done before, either at all, or on such a scale.

Even in Gibbs’s satire of a fictional polar expedition, the fictional sponsors require their fictional publicity shots (Figure 3.11). As the expedition team assembles on the docks prior to departure, they pose for a photograph in front of an icy backdrop that has been borrowed from a local ballet. When Robin questions the authenticity of the image, which appears to show an alpine scene rather than the polar plateau, Herbst reassures him: “In this country, Robin... people think everything looks the way they see it in the Herbst papers.”⁴¹⁷ By the 1930s the use of photographic images was becoming more widespread, and it was easier to disseminate these images to a wider audience thanks to the use of extensive railway and distribution networks. Staging photos, as in this example, was not the only method of image manipulation, though. “Composographs” were an early form of collage, where scenes were transposed onto different backgrounds, or faces were replaced with those of well-known figures. This is a technique that was applied to some of the most famous images of Antarctic exploration, namely Frank Hurley’s photos of Shackleton’s *Endurance* expedition. The famous scene of Shackleton heading out to sea in search of South Georgia as the men on Elephant Island waved him off was in fact made up of two different photos, transposed on top of one another in order to create a visual narrative.⁴¹⁸ By the 1930s, there was an awareness that photographs are not always as they seem.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 50.

⁴¹⁸ Thorpe, “Shackleton Expedition Pictures.” The skill required to construct such a story is also remarked upon in Gibbs’ narrative: when one of the cameramen is jettisoned from the aircraft as they approach the South Pole, his remaining colleague laments “Poor old Ernie. One of the best damn composograph men in the business.” Gibbs, *Bird Life at the Pole*, 127.



The Christopher Robin Antarctic Expedition against a refined polar backdrop. The stocky figure between Commander Robin and the aviator just walked into the picture and has nothing whatever to do with the story.

Figure 3.11: Illustration from Gibbs' novel with crew posed against a painted polar backdrop, complete with polar bear (Source: Bird Life at the Pole, 50)

Gibbs expands on the idea of the composograph, having the cameramen that accompany the expedition fabricate a plot and add in scenes that never happened, leading Robin to remark of the film "It wasn't life, but it was magnificent."⁴¹⁹ This episode also recalls photographs taken during Wilkins' *Nautilus* expedition, after his submarine had been damaged; thanks to a missing rudder, long dives beneath the ice were not possible. Photographic evidence was needed to show that appropriate efforts had been made, however, so photo opportunities were created, with men positioning themselves on the ice floes in order to capture the submarine emerging from the icy waters.⁴²⁰ In the southern context, the "Antarctic" image of Amundsen that was printed in newspapers around the globe following his successful expedition the South Pole was actually taken in Norway, close to his home. Such real-life examples from both the Arctic and Antarctic and the fictional example from *Bird Life at Pole* reinforce the

⁴¹⁹ Gibbs, *Bird Life at the Pole*, 168.

⁴²⁰ Nasht, *The Last Great Explorer*, 240.

importance of creating a dramatic story, and of capturing that story in a visual medium in order to extract maximum value.

Several illustrations in *Bird Life at the Pole* purport to depict scenes of the explorer posing for product endorsements,⁴²¹ or the party posing for the “daily photography hour”⁴²² (Figure 3.12). The inclusion of images adds another tool for satire, as the captions make fun of the images even as the drawings mimic the layout and content of posed photographs of real polar expeditions, including the dockside images from Byrd’s first Antarctic expeditions. Gibbs has Robin explain how he and Miss Svenson (a “Junior League Girl” taken in lieu of the usual boy scout) “posed with five pianos and four electric ice-boxes”⁴²³ prior to leaving on the expedition. All five pianos were then loaded onto the ship, because all five companies had submitted bids for sponsorship, and, as Herbst explained, “this way we’ll have an endorsement ready for each of ’em, and I can close with the highest bidder later.”⁴²⁴ While using the Antarctic to endorse a piano may sound far-fetched, there are in fact several instances of this occurring. Scott took a Broadwood piano on his *Terra Nova* expedition, and the instrument was later advertised as having been “subjected to all the extremes of Antarctic weather” yet still being “in almost perfect condition after two years’ wear” (A1912b). In later instances, the tenuous connection of having been present in the Antarctic was not even necessary: a Steinway Piano advertisement from 1976 (A1976b) features no piano at all, but rather a group of Adelie penguins against an icy backdrop, and the headline “The Land of No Steinways.”⁴²⁵ In the context of the Byrd Antarctic expedition, Gibbs’ descriptions of dockside photo shoots – and the accompanying illustrations in the book – mirror the actual images that were taken for expedition sponsors. As *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure* booklet of advertisements from 1935 shows, everything from razors to aeroplanes was carefully photographed for publicity purposes.

⁴²¹ Gibbs, *Bird Life at the Pole*, 1.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 90.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁴²⁵ Reproductions of this advertisement are regularly posted for sale on online marketplace website such as eBay.



Bruton & Bruton.
Daily photography hour on the Lizzie Borden.
Shortly after this picture was taken Commander
Robin became completely bemused by publicity and
steered the vessel into an iceberg.

Figure 3.12: Illustration from Gibb's novel satirizing the posed nature of expedition photography (Source: Bird Life at the Pole, 90)

Once home, it was necessary for explorers to sell a story about their polar exploits. Heroic deeds needed to be written about in heroic ways, thus creating a further commodity of narrative, but, as outlined in the previous chapter, explorers themselves were not always well placed to ensure their writing matched their actions. Gibbs provides comment on this situation too via the structure of his novel. The book purports to be "by Commander Christopher Robin. As told to Wolcott Gibbs," thus invoking the tradition of using ghostwriters to tell stories of heroic endeavor. This is mirrored in the narrative content: Gibbs' newspaper editor Herbst, who has arranged the fictional expedition, informs Miss Svenson that she will accompany the expedition, and when she comes back she will "write a book about it entitled "The Impressions of a Junior League Girl.""⁴²⁶ When Miss Svenson exclaims "*Hell*, I can't even write a letter, let alone a book,"⁴²⁷ Herbst tells her not to worry: "What I meant to say,"

⁴²⁶ Gibbs, *Bird Life at the Pole*, 38.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

explained Herbst soothingly, 'was that you tell your experiences to somebody else and they do most of the writing for you.'"⁴²⁸ This situation parallels Byrd's own experience. Anticipating criticism for employing a ghostwriter to write his first-hand accounts, Byrd included "a thinly veiled rationalization for busy men engaging ghostwriters to help them"⁴²⁹ in his (ghostwritten) book *Skyward* in 1928:

Of course a reporter wrote your story, didn't he?" so many people say to me. Frankly, I don't believe in having some one else write one's statements to the newspapers. Occasionally it cannot be helped ... Pure physical exhaustion and an official delegation to Paris led me to dictate my first instalment to a journalist.⁴³⁰

Despite this protestation, Byrd did in fact employ Charles J.V. Murphy to pen the official accounts of his expeditions.⁴³¹ Like all effective satire, Gibbs' novel comes close to the truth in many regards, even as it makes fun of the spectacle of the polar explorer and the entire hero business.

Byrd in Summary: Charisma meets Commerce

At the time Byrd was exploring, "culture heroes assumed proportions larger than life."⁴³² For many years Byrd was hailed as both a national hero, and an explorer whose name was synonymous with the Antarctic. His name was also synonymous with the 'hero business' – Byrd's expeditions illustrate how the media played a pivotal role in directing activity on the ice, and saw commerce and exploration unite like never before. Indeed, as Hofstra puts it, "Byrd's fame was forged in the crucible of the new media of his age and its ability to create a mass culture."⁴³³ Byrd was explicit about the importance of the media and sponsorship in each of his Antarctic expeditions. Unlike earlier explorers, he

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 39.

⁴²⁹ Rose, *Explorer: The Life of Richard E. Byrd*, 171. Rose notes that *Skyward* was probably ghostwritten by Fitzhugh Green, or perhaps by the up-and-coming journalist Charles J.V. Murphy, who is credited with ghost-writing later books.

⁴³⁰ Byrd, *Skyward*, 337.

⁴³¹ Rose, *Explorer: The Life of Richard E. Byrd*, 184.

⁴³² Hofstra, "Richard E. Byrd," 146.

⁴³³ Ibid., 150.

addressed the topic candidly in the official narratives of his expeditions, going into great details about the various contributions from different parties, and recognizing that

the X that used to mark the spot where the dying explorer ate his last morsel of pemmican, now marks the office where he collected his last dollar of backing.⁴³⁴

Conscious of the importance of every dollar, Byrd ensured that photographs, film, and radio dispatches all offered promotional opportunities for his backers. He also undertook ‘stunts’ such as taking guernsey cows to Antarctica, and spending time alone in the Antarctic interior, both of which were designed to make headlines. The explorer’s legacy in the Antarctic is therefore not limited to his historic first flight over the South Pole, or the discovery and naming of Marie Byrd Land.

Byrd also left a powerful legacy in terms of the ways Antarctica was cast in the public imagination, thanks to the way his images and updates were published in newspapers and magazines across the United States, used in advertisements, and broadcast directly into peoples’ living rooms via regular radio slots. As the two chapters in this section have demonstrated, media and Antarctic exploration had a close relationship during the early parts of the twentieth century. The following chapters examine various representations of the continent in detail, taking advertisements as case studies. Well-known characters such as Byrd do make further appearances, thanks to their associations with themes such as heroism and extremity. In later chapters, it is these framings of Antarctica that take centre stage, rather than the heroes and explorers themselves. Nevertheless, those explorers’ commercial entanglements set the scene for what is to come. With Byrd’s expeditions – and the help of Grape Nuts cereal – Antarctica became very publicly embroiled in the realm of American commerce, and those connections became more visible than ever, far beyond the icy shores of the continent.

⁴³⁴ Byrd, *Skyward*, 318.

Part II: Framing Antarctica

Chapter 3 – Heroic Antarctica

In early 2015, a most unlikely character made her way to the South Pole. Dressed in her trademark pink jumper, and accompanied by her monkey sidekick Boots, Dora the Explorer was there to welcome the band of weary, weather-beaten explorers with an enthusiastic “Bienvenidos – Welcome to the South Pole!” As if the presence of the young, latina, and geographically underdressed cartoon character were not enough to disrupt the explorers’ envisioned glorious arrival, Dora topped it all off with the punch line “What took you so long?” A more pertinent question might be “what was Dora doing there in the first place?” Aside from subverting traditional ideas of the masculine hero who conquers the Antarctic wilderness, she was the star of a TV advertisement for the insurance company Geico (Figure 4.1). “If you’re Dora the Explorer,” the narrator concluded, “you explore - it’s what you do.” If you want to “save 15% or more on car insurance,” on the other hand, “you switch to Geico.”⁴³⁵ Dora’s presence in this Antarctic advertisement raises questions of masculinity, nationalism, and construction of place.⁴³⁶ A South American female embedded in a digitally constructed icescape meant to represent a place first claimed by British men – who goes by the name “explorer” to boot – subverts the trope of Antarctica as a place for masculine heroes with a stiff upper lip. The advertisement demonstrates that the idea of Antarctica as a place for explorers, for firsts, for testing human limits, and for heroes, still lingers as recognisable but can be combined with an ironic, postmodern distancing. Dora the Explorer’s presence neatly encapsulates the way the concept of the Antarctic hero has evolved over the past century, as audience values and expectations have changed. Brightly coloured Dora, the explorer heroine of millions of contemporary children, shows up the sepia-toned ‘heroes’ – “driven nearly mad from starvation and

⁴³⁵ Geico, “Dora the Explorer at South Pole.”

⁴³⁶ The South African blackfooted penguins, which feature in the composite “South Pole” shot, are a good 6,200km away from home.

frostbite”⁴³⁷ – as relics of a time long past. That time, so often referred to even in contemporary advertisements, is the Heroic Era itself.



Figure 4.1: Still image from 2015 television commercial for Geico Insurance, USA (Source: Geico, “Dora the Explorer at South Pole”)

Defining the “Hero”: A Cultural and Commercial Force

The term ‘Heroic Era’ or ‘Heroic Age’ is used to refer to the period of Antarctic exploration that took place between 1897 and 1922,⁴³⁸ and those who were exploring during that time continue to carry the ‘hero’ label. Definitions of hero are culturally dependent, as “heroes are connected, intimately, to their societies.”⁴³⁹ Nevertheless, Western folklore shares a traditional hero narrative with a predictable story arc: hero is called to action;⁴⁴⁰ ventures forth into a

⁴³⁷ Geico, “Dora the Explorer at South Pole.”

⁴³⁸ While definitions of the Heroic Era time period do vary, the dates used in this thesis refer to period between the Belgian Geographical Society’s expeditions of 1897, and the death of Ernest Shackleton in 1922.

⁴³⁹ Berger, *Media and Analysis Techniques*, 10.

⁴⁴⁰ The folklore expert Vladimir Propp distinguishes between “seekers” who go off in search of a goal, and “victimized heroes” who are driven out from their homes by an external force. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, 21.

strange and supernatural world;⁴⁴¹ struggles against obstacles, villainy and adversity; is helped by “donors” along the way; and eventually triumphs, returning home transformed, bringing new knowledge and insights.⁴⁴² This arc dates back to classical Greek literature, where the hero was played by the likes of Heracles and Achilles. Max Jones et al explain how “the modern imperial hero emerged in Britain during the eighteenth century around such figures as Admiral Vernon, General Wolfe and Captain Cook.”⁴⁴³ Many permutations of the narrative have emerged since, encompassing tales of military might (Lord Nelson); political struggle (Rosa Parks and Nelson Mandela); compassion (Florence Nightingale); vigilante justice (Robin Hood and Batman);⁴⁴⁴ exploration (Dr Livingstone); and popular fiction (Harry Potter and Katniss Everdeen). The widening definition of the term ‘hero’ has recently come up for cultural debate, as discussed at the 2015 “Heroes Conference” in London⁴⁴⁵ and the 2016 “Heroism Science Conference” in Perth, Australia.⁴⁴⁶ These meetings run on the premise that “Heroism is all around us,”⁴⁴⁷ saturating media and popular culture. Indeed, the term ‘hero’ has been used in the context of sports, conflicts, and national disasters, and to elevate achievements in times of celebration. It has been assigned variously to war veterans, civic and sporting leaders, and everyday people who exhibit traits of bravery or triumph in the face of adversity. Whether on the streets of a local town or in a remote context such as Antarctica, exactly who is considered to be a hero – and what is understood by the term – is a product of the specific cultural values that are dominant in any society at a given point in time.

This chapter explores the theme of heroism within the Antarctic context. The idea of the ‘Antarctic hero’ can be traced back to the first inland expeditions into

⁴⁴¹ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 30.

⁴⁴² Allison and Goethals, *Heroic Leadership*, 13.

⁴⁴³ Jones et al, *Decolonising Imperial Heroes*, 789.

⁴⁴⁴ Allison and Goethals identify 10 main categories of hero in their 2013 taxonomy, namely Trending, Transitory, Transitional, Tragic, Transposed, Transparent, Traditional, Transfigured, Transforming, and Transcendent.

⁴⁴⁵ British Association for Modernist Studies. “Call For Papers.” Held 3-4 October 2015, Royal Geographical Society (with IBG), London.

⁴⁴⁶ Efthimiou, “Welcome to Heroism Science.” Held 11-12 July 2016, Murdoch University, Perth, Australia.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

the continent at the turn of the twentieth century, a time when space was being turned into place with every snowy footfall. A short overview of important Antarctic figures and events from this period helps to position the case study advertisements within a particular context of exploration and conquest. The first half of the chapter analyses the ways the reputations of Heroic Era explorers including Shackleton, Scott and Douglas Mawson have been leveraged for commercial gain, both through direct endorsements and subsequent product re-releases. As Jones et al have explained, “advertisers positioned heroes in newsprint advertising and product packaging as icons of imperial development.”⁴⁴⁸ Such figures have continued to stand for imperial mindsets for decades afterwards, even as Empires around the world have been dismantled, so they also act as shorthand for Edwardian values and a nostalgic bygone time. The second part of the chapter focuses on modern day uses of the ‘hero’ trope. Shackleton’s name has been used metaphorically in a range of settings in recent times, including in climate-controlled boardrooms, while modern-day expeditions continue to call upon historic links in order to attract the funding required to go ahead. An examination of the 2013 “Walking with the Wounded” Antarctic expedition reveals how the term ‘hero’ has shifted in meaning over the past century, while also demonstrating the continued power of Heroic Era imagery, including photographs of people ‘man-hauling’. Finally, this chapter asks how companies with no existing Antarctic links can use narratives about Antarctic heroes in order to brand and market their products – be they warm coats, or British-made banjos. The image of the bearded explorer may have been superseded by the likes of intrepid Dora in modern incarnations, yet the heroism theme continues to resonate today, evidenced by its use in a range of commercial contexts.

Antarctic Heroism: Territory, Valour and Legends

The Heroic Era of Antarctic exploration (1897–1922) was a time when expeditions set off for the South fuelled by the poetry of Robert Browning, Alfred

⁴⁴⁸ Jones et al, *Decolonising Imperial Heroes*, 795.

Lord Tennyson, and Robert Service, and motivated by romantic ideas of man versus nature. This model cast the wilderness as both something to inspire feelings of the sublime in the beholder, and to be conquered by masculine feats. As we have seen in the previous chapter, such feats were valuable because of their newsworthiness, so had close ties to commerce and marketing strategies. As Jones et al put it,

British popular imagination ascribed ... significance to the cold deserts around the north and south poles, where the challenges of exploration coalesced with nationalist ambitions and the commercial preoccupations of the mass media.⁴⁴⁹

At the ends of the earth, media, exploration and heroism have long gone hand in hand. The Heroic Era label does not mean that all explorers from the time have always been viewed as heroes. On the contrary, tracking the changing popular reputations of early explorers such as Scott, Shackleton, and Amundsen reveals much about shifting cultural values, and the dominant discourse around heroism. That the “Heroic Era” is usually referred to in quotation marks⁴⁵⁰ indicates an early awareness that the connotations of the name should not be taken for granted.

The idea of heroism in the context of exploration is closely tied up with notions of priority, and claiming territory. These both manifest in the ‘race to the pole,’ a recurrent trope that dates back to 1911, when the British Scott and the Norwegian Amundsen both led teams in pursuit of the geographic South Pole (see Chapter 1). Their concurrent quests for priority captured the attention of the media, and, in the aftermath of Amundsen’s victory and Scott’s death, it was via the media that the narratives that have cemented the Heroic Era in the public imagination first came to light. In his native Norway, Amundsen’s feats were celebrated, as they helped to put the newly independent country on the world stage. The celebrations were reserved, however, due to the involvement of another local hero. The well-known Norwegian explorer Fridtjof Nansen had set aside his own plans to head South, lending his ship to Amundsen for a northern

⁴⁴⁹ Jones et al, *Decolonising Imperial Heroes*, 802.

⁴⁵⁰ Leane, *South Pole*, 54.

expedition instead. In England, Amundsen was cast as the villain – not only was he foreign, but he had acted in an ‘unsporting’ manner by announcing he would sail north, not south, and only informing his crew and those back home of his real intentions once the ship reached Madeira. It was not so much Amundsen’s own actions that led to this casting, as the need to create a contrast to Scott – every story of a hero needs a counterpoint villain. Scott, on the other hand, was placed on a pillar – quite literally, as his wife Kathleen created a bronze sculpture of her husband to stand at London’s Waterloo Place – and revered throughout the British Empire as a symbol of the best of British stoicism, and heroic sacrifice.

In the intervening century, the stories of Scott and Amundsen have been recast many times. As Barczewski puts it, “real men become archetypes when filtered through popular memory, and real events become myths.”⁴⁵¹ In the British context, Scott was seen to exemplify out-dated Edwardian values; as the ideas of noble sacrifice with which he was associated fell out of favour throughout the 1960s and 1970s, so too did the man himself. Max Jones et al have written how “Heroes mark both the limits of permissible memory and the immutability of certain values,”⁴⁵² and this means the study of their reputations can be instructive, telling us about culture more broadly. Historian Roland Huntford’s book *Scott and Amundsen* (1979) represented a tide change in how Scott was viewed in his native England – the explosive account depicted a bumbler who was ill-prepared for Antarctic conditions, and whose class-based leadership system was his downfall. Similar interpretations have also emerged in popular culture – Scott was pilloried by playwrights such as Howard Brenton in *Scott of the Antarctic* (1971), which depicted the erstwhile hero as a bumbling public school boy out for a jaunt on an ice-skating rink, and ridiculed by Monty Python in their sketch *Scott of the Sahara* (1970).

While the pendulum of popular opinion swung firmly away from Scott during the 1960s and 1970s, there have also been defenders of his reputation. The explorer

⁴⁵¹ Barczewski, *Antarctic Destinies*, xv.

⁴⁵² Jones et al, *Decolonising Imperial Heroes*, 804.

Ranulph Fiennes, who has himself spent multiple seasons in polar regions, published a comprehensive biography defending Scott's decisions in 2003, arguing that unless one has experience in extreme landscapes one cannot comment on decisions made.⁴⁵³ In more recent years, the pendulum has swung towards the middle, with recognition that Scott was neither flawless nor completely inept. Amundsen, too, has been the subject of renewed interest, with Huntford's *Scott and Amundsen* highlighting the positive qualities of the Norwegian that had long lain ignored. His dedication, focus, efficiency, and planning have since been lauded as examples to follow. Importantly, the actions of both men have stayed the same – it is the interpretations of those actions, considered through a range of lenses at different points in time, that have led to different retellings of the stories, and to the designation or revocation of the hero label from each of the Heroic Era explorers.

Ernest Shackleton is another Heroic Era figure whose exploits have shaped the mythology of Antarctica. Born in County Kildare, Ireland, in 1874, Shackleton trained in the merchant Navy before heading south for the first time in 1901, with Scott's *Discovery* expedition. He would go on to lead several of his own Antarctic journeys, coming within 97 miles of the South Pole in 1909 during the *Nimrod* expedition, and watching his vessel *Endurance* be crushed in the ice of the Weddell Sea in 1915.⁴⁵⁴ His men's subsequent voyage across ice floes, and in whaleboats to first Elephant Island and then South Georgia, has since gone down in history as one of the most impressive feats of endurance. Shackleton has recently been lauded for never losing a man,⁴⁵⁵ and for his ability to build a rapport with those under his command. At the time, however, Scott's recent death had "elevated him to the status of martyred national hero who far eclipsed Shackleton in the eyes of the British public."⁴⁵⁶ It was not until the late twentieth

⁴⁵³ Fiennes, *Captain Scott*.

⁴⁵⁴ Shackleton led a third expedition, called *Quest*, towards Antarctica in 1922, but died in South Georgia whilst still *en route* to the continent.

⁴⁵⁵ This much-touted anecdote is not true – although all the men from Shackleton's Weddell Sea party survived their ordeal, three of the support crew who were laying depots in the Ross Sea region lost their lives during the course of the planned Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition.

⁴⁵⁶ Barczewski, *Antarctic Destinies*, xii.

century that “Shackleton came to be regarded as the greater leader,”⁴⁵⁷ and described as “a hero for our time.”⁴⁵⁸ Farley has observed that “Shackleton became popular at precisely the moment when the popular media were bemoaning a ‘crisis of masculinity’ and a ‘crisis of whiteness’”⁴⁵⁹ – Shackleton offered a model for both, and it was largely amongst the ranks of white men that his story gained new currency. The reputation revival in the late 1990s and early 2000s saw Shackleton’s leadership style used as the basis for business seminars, and his name used as a “synonym for courage, bravery and most of all, leadership.”⁴⁶⁰ The recent rise in Shackleton’s popular reputation also parallels a shift in focus from a single hero to a leader, supported by a team. This model finds far more uses in the modern-day business environment than the authoritarian model associated with other Heroic Era figures, such as Scott. Barczewski attributes this opinion shift to changing cultural values and expectations: it is not the figures themselves, but rather “our perceptions and interpretations of their characters and achievements” that have changed.⁴⁶¹

While the names of leaders like Scott, Shackleton and Amundsen are the ones that have gone down in history as the heroes of the Heroic Era, the efforts of their men are now recognised as crucial. In recent years there has been a shift of focus to the workers of the expeditions who made the exploration. Maddison argues that the “heroisation” of Antarctica is problematic because it hermetises Antarctic exploration, focusing on the heroes rather than putting exploration events within the context of the rest of the world. In Ireland, the shift away from heroes has manifest in renewed interest in Tom Crean (including an extremely popular one-man show by Aidan Dooley that has been touring since 2004).⁴⁶² Explorers from other nations have also been receiving more attention. Sir Douglas Mawson, who is revered as a hero within his native Australia, most

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., xii.

⁴⁵⁸ Farley, “By Endurance We Conquer,” 231.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 246.

⁴⁶⁰ Worsley, *In Shackleton’s Footsteps*, 247.

⁴⁶¹ Barczewski, *Antarctic Destinies*, xii.

⁴⁶² Dooley, *Tom Crean*. The show developed out of Aidan Dooley’s 15-minute Living History performance about Tom Crean, created for London’s National Maritime Museum’s Antarctic Exhibition ‘South’ in 2001, and has since toured internationally to Geneva, Malta, Dubai, the USA, and New Zealand.

famously led the *Australian Antarctic Expedition* (1911–1913). During his far-eastern sledging party journey, he lost both his companions, endured starvation, frostbite, and vitamin A poisoning, fell down crevasses, and arrived back at the hut just after the rescue ship had departed for the winter. He went on to write an account entitled *The Home of the Blizzard* (1915), which is still in print.

Despite Mawson's high profile, attractions such as the Mawson's Huts Replica Museum in Hobart⁴⁶³ have sought to profile all the members of Mawson's team, rather than focusing solely on the expedition leader. There has been growing acceptance that the Heroic Era is not all about the heroes who have stood at the centre of the seminal narratives of exploration. Indeed, Maddison goes so far as to argue "the narrative of Antarctic exploration that was generated out of the 'Heroic Era' was at best a myth," one that continues to be sustained "by the unconsidered use of the key terms within the Heroic narrative – 'discovery', 'exploration' and 'explorer.'"⁴⁶⁴ Still, such terms and the legends of the men who led these expeditions 100 years ago continue to endure, and to be recycled in both popular culture and advertising media.

The visual elements associated with Antarctic heroes were established early on and have been recycled ever since as shorthand for a series of values, including heroism and masculinity. Frank Hurley's iconic images from Cape Dennison of Mawson's men struggling to stand upright in a blizzard typify this idea, and it was via such photographs (as reproduced in the media) that most people back home shaped their imagined versions of the far south. Echoes of these images can still be seen in modern day adverts that use Antarctica as a shorthand for masculinity and heroism. At times these associations remain purely symbolic, with Antarctic myths being drawn upon without any physical link with the continent being forged. Such associations with Antarctica and the Heroic Era are easily understood on both a denotative and connotative level: penguins and snowstorms point to Antarctica, while sepia colouring and old-fashioned clothing invoke the early explorers. For companies looking for a more tangible link with the south in order to give their brand association greater authenticity,

⁴⁶³ Mawson's Huts Foundation, "Mawson's Huts."

⁴⁶⁴ Maddison, *Class and colonialism in Antarctic exploration*, 195.

however, there is no shortage of opportunities. Indeed, there is now an entire industry dedicated to matchmaking would-be explorers to corporate sponsors.⁴⁶⁵ These commercial arrangements, which continue to draw on tropes of masculinity and extremity, began during the Heroic Era with endorsements from the heroes themselves.

The Hero in Advertising

Use of the heroism trope in advertising is not, of course, limited to Antarctic examples. Jones et al have written how

the media revolution of the second-half of the nineteenth century dramatically transformed the transmission and reception of heroic reputations, in particular through the proliferation of visual iconography.⁴⁶⁶

This included marketing material. Endorsements were a common format, with the reputations of heroic figures such as Charles Lindbergh⁴⁶⁷ and Amelia Earhart being used to leverage attention for a range of products during the 1920s and 1930s. Such endorsements generally take a personalised format, where

the meaning of the ad is conveyed by the link between the attributes associated with the people in the advertisement, and the relationship they embody between themselves and the product.⁴⁶⁸

As well as drawing on celebrity connections, early endorsements stressed the utility of the product in question, harnessing the reputation of high-profile people to catch the attention of the audience. Many early Antarctic advertisements took this form, whereas more recent advertisements that draw on the heroic theme tend use the *concept* of a hero rather than a specific personality.

⁴⁶⁵ Blumenfeld, *Get Sponsored*.

⁴⁶⁶ Jones et al, *Decolonising Imperial Heroes*, 790.

⁴⁶⁷ Cox, "Charles Lindbergh and Mobiloil."

⁴⁶⁸ Leiss, Kline, Jhally and Botterill. *Social Communication in Advertising*, 184.

The idea of the hero has appeared in many guises over the past century. Margaret Salyer has outlined how the concept of heroism has been useful in situations as diverse as military recruitment and tinned soup advertising.⁴⁶⁹ Companies that have used the hero as a central advertising conceit in recent years include Nike (“Does a Hero Know She’s a Hero if No One Tells Her?”),⁴⁷⁰ GoPro (“Be a Hero”),⁴⁷¹ and the Pan American Health Organisation (“Every Blood Donor is a Hero”).⁴⁷² The term ‘hero’ has even developed a specialist meaning within the advertising industry itself; in the digital era, a ‘hero image’ is a large banner that is prominently displayed on a web page. Debates over what is meant by the term ‘hero’ have impacted on advertisers’ decisions as to which faces to put to campaigns. In some instances, everyday people are used as the face of the hero, while in others the endorsement model still reigns; in the context of the twentieth century, “the rise of modern and professional sport elevated the figure of the ‘sport hero’ to popular visibility.”⁴⁷³ The later parts of the twentieth century have also seen crossover between notions of hero and celebrity, leading Nancy Spears et al to claim “the line between celebrity and hero has blurred.”⁴⁷⁴ This is significant in a modern day context, where “contemporary heroes as celebrities are often created through extensive global communications efforts.”⁴⁷⁵ The main difference, according to Steven et al, is that heroic recognition has its roots in greatness, while celebrity recognition is rooted in fame.⁴⁷⁶ As examination of Byrd has already shown, the line between the two was often hazy during the early years of Antarctic exploration. Heroism is therefore very much tied up with notions of achievement and profile, as well as moral integrity.

⁴⁶⁹ Salyer, “Jungian Archetypes in Advertising Imagery.”

⁴⁷⁰ For more on the (1999–2000) Nike campaign, see Grow “Stories of Community”; Capon and Helstein “‘Knowing’ the Hero.”

⁴⁷¹ GoPro, “Home.” The GoPro camera range are called “Hero4” and “Hero5” and associated advertisements encourage viewers to “Be a Hero.”

⁴⁷² Pan American Health Organization, “World Blood Donor Day..”

⁴⁷³ Steven, Lathrop, and Bradish, “‘Who is Your Hero?’” As an example, the Nike scrapbook campaign (1999) featured Mia Hamm.

⁴⁷⁴ Spears, Royne and van Steenburg, “Are Celebrity-Heroes Effective Endorsers?” 17.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴⁷⁶ Steven Lathrop, and Bradish, “‘Who is Your Hero?’” 104.

Leveraging the reputations of heroes has long been a successful strategy in the Antarctic context, and many products, including Horlicks malted milk and the Arrol-Johnston motorcar, first came to Antarctica with explorers as part of endorsement or sponsorship deals. While these deals meant that expeditions were fitted out with necessary equipment for little cost, sponsorships are “not altruistic” – instead, “their goal is the exploitation of commercial objectives.”⁴⁷⁷ In the case of the car, the Scottish industrialist William Beardmore, who financed Shackleton’s 1907 *Nimrod* expedition, had recently acquired the Arrol-Johnston Company,⁴⁷⁸ so the car was sent south as a publicity opportunity. Often, such products were later featured in advertising campaigns that drew on their Antarctic history.⁴⁷⁹ Horlick’s Malted Milk Company, which sponsored Richard Byrd’s 1933 Antarctic expedition to the tune of US\$30,000, was typical in including photographs of its product being loaded for the Antarctic voyage and radiograms from Byrd in advertising material,⁴⁸⁰ and the Horlick’s example is discussed in detail in the previous chapter. Other companies that leveraged the association of their food product with Antarctica include Oxo; Fry’s Cocoa (with advertisements starring Scott, A1912g); and Bovril (discussed below). High profile endorsements continue today; Horlick’s, for one, has continued to capitalise on its Antarctic links, becoming the official hot drink sponsor for the 2013 “Walking with the Wounded” trek to the South Pole.⁴⁸¹

Campaign Case Studies: Bovril, Huntley & Palmers and Yalumba

The following section analyses several specific examples of Heroic Era figures endorsing products, and traces the re-release of some of these products as part of the centenary celebrations in recent years. That all of the examples examined – from Bovril to Huntley & Palmers Crackers, to Yalumba wine – relate to

⁴⁷⁷ Vartorella, “Redefining the “Heart of Darkness,” 206.

⁴⁷⁸ Peat, *Shackleton’s Whisky*, 60.

⁴⁷⁹ Post-expedition, Mawson refused to pay the bill for the Vickers aeroplane used in the AAE, on the grounds that having the plane on the expedition was “a colossal advertisement for them.” Lucas, Henderson, Leane and Kriwoken. “A flight of the Imagination,” 71.

⁴⁸⁰ Other brands to run similar campaigns include Purina Mills Dog Food (A1935j), Oakite cleaning products (A1935h), and Ex-Lax: The Chocolate Laxative (A1935k).

⁴⁸¹ Walking with the Wounded, “Sponsors.” Horlicks is listed as the “Official Hot Drink Supplier.”

endorsements for edible goods is no coincidence. The Heroic Era is very much tied up with corporeality, associated with physical exertion and bodily feats of endurance. Although leaders such as Scott, Shackleton and Mawson all took machinery south (to varying effect) it was images of man-hauling that typified the period. In order for man to 'take on the wild' without perishing, nourishment was a prime necessity. Hence, food, bodies, and the heroism of the Heroic Era are closely linked, both in terms of enabling exploration, and in terms of promotions.

A Drink for Heroes: Shackleton says "It Must Be Bovril"

Shackleton provided several endorsements for the meat extract Bovril during his (unsuccessful) *Imperial Transantarctic Expedition* of 1914–16. A full-page black and white advertisement that appeared in *The Illustrated London News* in January 1914 (Figure 4.2) is a case in point. The advertisement is typical of endorsements from the time – the bulk of the page is taken up by text, of five different fonts and sizes. This text is accompanied by a small, detailed map of the Antarctic, complete with Shackleton's intended trans-Antarctic route sketched across the surface. The eye is immediately drawn to the largest, boldest text one third of the way down the page, which reads "it must be Bovril." This slogan, which went on to form the basis of an entire Bovril Antarctic campaign,⁴⁸² is repeated in large, bold font at the bottom of the page, leaving the reader in no doubt as to the name of the product. The third bolded section, located two thirds of the way down the page, refers to the scientifically proven qualities of the product: "proved by independent scientific investigation to possess a body-building power equal to from 10 to 20 times the amount taken" (Figure 4.2). Such scientific references add weight to the claims of the product's quality, but it is the accompanying image, and the smaller text that refers to Shackleton's planned Antarctic expedition, that lend the product authenticity. They evidence Bovril's claims to superiority, security, reliability and familiarity, and elevate its status, precisely because Shackleton was a well-known figure, trusted by the public. His word carries authority, which is why, as the accompanying text

⁴⁸² Hadley, *The History of BOVRIL Advertising*, 19. Shackleton's slogan was used in Bovril advertising materials throughout World War One, with the addition of the tagline "British to the Backbone."

explains, Shackleton himself makes the bolded statement that “it must be Bovril.” This advertisement is therefore a classic example of a celebrity endorsement, using a polar celebrity to gain leverage for a product that was sold on the domestic market.

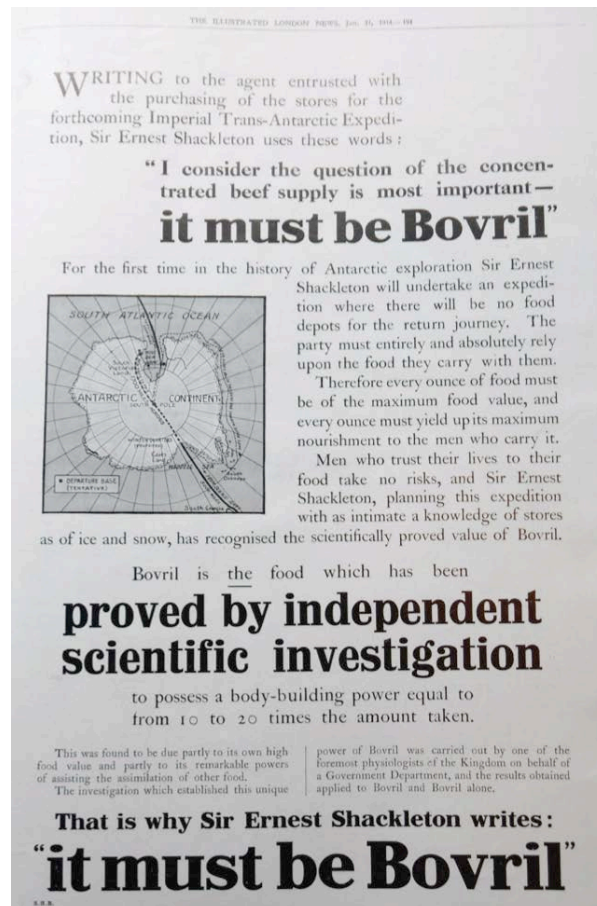


Figure 4.2: Bovril advertisement with Shackleton's endorsement, 1914

(Source: The Illustrated London News, January 31 1914)

According to the advertisement, Bovril is imperative because of the geographical extremity of the situation. It explains how

For the first time in the history of Antarctic exploration Sir Ernest Shackleton will undertake an expedition where there will be no food depots for the return journey (Figure 4.2).

This focus on pushing geographical boundaries – whilst using Bovril to insulate oneself from otherwise insurmountable physical boundaries – also appears in

other contemporary Bovril adverts. The first Bovril testimonial was provided in April 1890 by American explorer H. M. Stanley (“Dr Livingstone, I presume”),⁴⁸³ while an example from 1900 features Lord Roberts moving across South Africa and spelling out “Bovril” in the process.⁴⁸⁴ Anne McClintock describes the South African advertisement as an overt example where “the colonial map enters the realm of commodity spectacle.”⁴⁸⁵ Shackleton, too, is undertaking a colonial conquest by exploring untouched ice for the first time. That he is doing so in the name of King and Country as part of an imperial expedition is reinforced by the inclusion of the map diagram of Antarctica. Maps are powerful geopolitical tools, but their usefulness can also spill over into the world of advertising. As Barbara Bush puts it, “to map was to possess, to tame and order terra nullius.”⁴⁸⁶ In this case the possessing was done not only by a nation state, but also by a brand (Bovril), laying claim to a supporting role in the archetypal narrative of the conquering hero (in this case, Shackleton).

The brand name Bovril itself carries gendered connotations that relate to the Heroism theme. While the “Bov” prefix refers to an Ox – appropriate for a beef extract product – the “Vril” is taken from Edward Bulwer Lytton’s 1870 novel *The Coming Race*, which features a race of incredibly strong, superhuman beings. Known as the Vril-ya, the beings were said to gain their “life force”⁴⁸⁷ from a magical substance called “Vril.” Thanks to the success of the book, the word “Vril” soon became synonymous with life-giving strength.⁴⁸⁸ In the Antarctic context, the life-giving properties of Bovril are particularly important, as so little stands between the explorers and their deaths at the hands of the elements. The connotations of virility and masculinity contained in the word “Vril” are also important in this context. In order to survive in such a setting, virility and vigour – both markers of heterosexual, dominating masculinity – were essential. Bovril, which had previously been associated with the front lines of the Boer War

⁴⁸³ Hadley, *The History of BOVRIL Advertising*, 7.

⁴⁸⁴ Bovril advertisement, “How Lord Roberts spells Bovril.”

⁴⁸⁵ McClintock, “Soft-Soaping Empire,” 758.

⁴⁸⁶ Bush, *Imperialism and Postcolonialism*, 149.

⁴⁸⁷ Hadley, *The History of BOVRIL Advertising*, 3.

⁴⁸⁸ Thompson, *Handbook of Patent Law*, 42. “Bovril” therefore meant “great strength obtained from an Ox.”

and “the hardships and endurance of the fighting soldier,”⁴⁸⁹ found a perfect match in the Antarctic explorers of the Heroic Era.

Bovril marketing has since reprised the product’s polar links on several occasions. An advertisement from the winter of 1956–7 features a male child announcing “I’m just back from the Pole Mummy” (Figure 4.3). The larger body of text below explains

Few Polar expeditions have gone without their Bovril. Shackleton and his men had Bovril every day – and he himself said ‘I am certain it was one of the greatest helps during that long and arduous journey.’⁴⁹⁰

Here the suggestion is that those who play at polar exploration need just as much nourishment as the explorers who actually head south themselves. Another example from 1957 – a time when several Antarctic bases had just been established for the International Geophysical Year – links explorers at the pole with the housewives at home who shopped for their families and were thus the very market towards whom Bovril advertising was tailored. Man-hauling figures are depicted, with the text explaining that Bovril has been used everywhere “From the North to the South Pole, from the snows of Everest to the firesides of Britain.”⁴⁹¹ The advertisement goes on to address the theme of heroism directly, claiming “Bovril is indeed a drink for heroes. And a drink for families too.”⁴⁹² Drawing upon the history of the product, the advertisement suggests that the life-giving properties of the beef extract beverage have both domestic and exotic applications. The use of the polar hero trope in a domestic context some half a century after the first product endorsements by polar figures appeared indicates that it continued to carry weight as a symbol for survival in extremity.

⁴⁸⁹ Hadley, *The History of BOVRIL Advertising*, 13.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 105.



Figure 4.3: Bovril advertisement from 1956/7
(Source: The History of BOVRIL Advertising, 62)

Scott's Last Biscuit? Huntley & Palmers and the Power of Nostalgia

At times the producers of goods have created special editions of their products to commemorate expeditions, or to accompany them south. The Huntley & Palmers Polar Biscuits are one such example. Eight different varieties “were specially designed to commemorate the British Expedition to the Antarctic,” (Figure 4.4) with biscuits featuring images of the Terra Nova, British Flag, the names and dates of four expeditions,⁴⁹³ and men dressed in thick polar clothing. Four of these are prominently featured in a full-page advertisement from 1912 (Figure 4.4), the year Scott and his men reached the geographic South Pole and perished on the return. The advertisement appeared prior to news of Scott’s death

⁴⁹³ These are Scott (1901), Shackleton (1902), Peary (1908) and Scott (1910). The names appear beneath both the British Union flag and the Stars and Stripes of the USA (a reference to Peary).

reaching the outside world, however, as it was not until February 1913 that the world learnt of the expedition's disastrous ending. It must therefore be read as appearing in an in-between time, after it was known (from February 1912) that Amundsen had been first to reach the Pole, but before the fate of the British party had reached the outside world. This accounts for the very small font at the foot of the advertisement that explains "it may be interesting to record that Huntley & Palmers Biscuits were also supplied to Captain Roald Amundsen" (Figure 4.4). While having sent these biscuits south with the first man to reach the geographical South Pole could be used as a selling point, in the British context in which this advertisement appeared, discretion was required, as Scott was the hero of that particular nation. Therefore, it was more useful for the producers of Huntley & Palmers biscuits to advertise their connection with the British party than with their demonstrably successful Scandinavian counterparts.

'Antarctic' products sold on the domestic market were not always the same as those that travelled south with explorers. In the case of the 1912 Huntley & Palmers example, text explaining that these biscuits "were taken, with many other of Huntley and Palmers Specialties, by Captain Scott on board the 'Terra Nova'" (Figure 4.4) offers legitimacy to the product's polar associations. An image of the biscuits takes up almost one third of the total advertisement space, with the polar imagery that has been stamped onto the biscuits highlighting the link to Antarctica. The polar imagery also presents a variation on the original staple; while Huntley & Palmers biscuits were consumed in Antarctica, those specimens were not as detailed as those on the domestic market. Instead, the polar biscuits used by the explorers were much plainer in appearance, as the focus was on their function as a source of much-needed calories. This became clear as early tins of the biscuits were discovered in Antarctic huts by both modern expeditioners in the 1950s⁴⁹⁴ and the New Zealand Antarctic Heritage Trust, and conserved as part of ongoing maintenance.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁴ Foster, "Letter of Lieut. Commander M Foster RN,."

⁴⁹⁵ Images of the tins also appeared in as part of the "Scott's Last Expedition" centenary exhibition that toured the UK, New Zealand and Australia. Antarctic Heritage Trust (New Zealand). "Scott's Last Expedition."

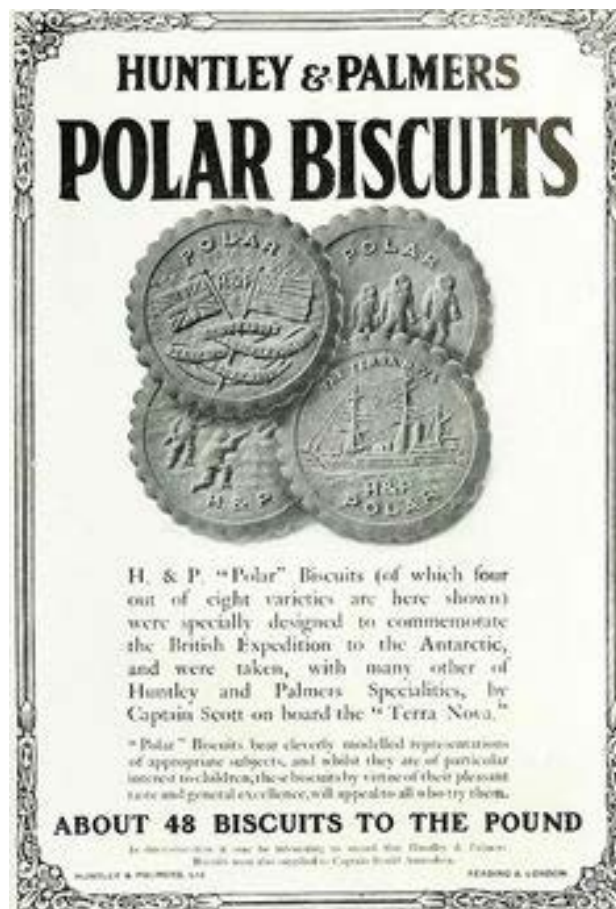


Figure 4.4: "Huntley & Palmers Polar Biscuits" advertisement, 1912
(Source: Pall Mall Magazine Extra: Pictures of 1912, LXXXIII, 140)

Biscuit tins were a powerful marketing tool in their heyday, also acting as a symbol for the reach of the British Empire, in much the same way as Oxo stock and Pears' soap. Historian Tom Griffiths describes Huntley & Palmers biscuits as "a wonderful symbol of empire for Scott to take to the end of the earth,"⁴⁹⁶ because of the brand's thoroughly English history. Founded in Reading in 1882, the company had already sent its wares with Dr Stanley to central Africa,⁴⁹⁷ and to many other English colonies all over the globe. At the time, branding was an important way of asserting control over the British Empire, with British-made products in use everywhere. As McClintock puts it,

⁴⁹⁶ Griffiths, *Slicing the Silence*, 347.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 347.

Empire was seen to be patriotically defended by Ironclad Porpoise Bootlaces and Sons of the Empire Soap, while Stanley came to the rescue of the Emin of Pasha laden with outsize boxes of Huntley and Palmers Biscuits.⁴⁹⁸

In this context, Antarctica was the final frontier, and thus a magnet for such products and brands. Indeed, it can be argued that the biscuits themselves (via associated advertising campaigns) acted to bring Antarctica into the fold of this empire. Publicity photographs of Huntley & Palmers packing crates in situ on the ice, augmented by an endorsement from Scott himself,⁴⁹⁹ proved the biscuits' worth to empire and exploration.

In September 1999, the Huntley & Palmers brand name was propelled into the limelight once again, thanks to the auction of an historic biscuit from the Antarctic. Billed as "Scott's Last Biscuit,"⁵⁰⁰ it was supposedly removed from alongside the three bodies in Scott's tent in 1912, before being returned to Kathleen Scott. According to Griffiths, this "last biscuit was [Scott's] metaphor for heroism in extremity,"⁵⁰¹ two themes that continue to be associated with Antarctica. Far more than a stale cake of calories, for the men in Scott's tent the biscuit came to stand for hope, and "gave them a future, however spurious."⁵⁰² As well as extensive media attention, the biscuit attracted almost £4000 when it was purchased by the renowned polar explorer (and defender of Scott's reputation) Sir Ranulph Fiennes. Fiennes, who wished to keep as many Scott relics in England as possible, later discovered that he had likely "fallen for one of the many Scott myths,"⁵⁰³ as the provenance of the biscuit proved impossible to verify. The fact that such myths exist, and continue to pervade modern British

⁴⁹⁸ McClintock, "Soft-Soaping Empire," 755.

⁴⁹⁹ Such an endorsement is similar to those discussed in the previous chapter with regards to Singer and His Masters Voice. The Huntley & Palmers collection at the University of Reading holds a copy of a letter from Captain Scott to Huntley & Palmers (20 October 1911) "extolling the virtues of H & P biscuits on the polar expedition." Scott, "Letter from Captain Scott to Huntley & Palmers."

⁵⁰⁰ Sarah Moss's 2006 book on the literature of polar exploration appeared under the same title, because "Robert Falcon Scott's biscuits have become strangely symbolic of the modern fascination for writing about polar travel." Moss, *Scott's Last Biscuit*, ix. Thomas Keneally also published a travel piece under the same name in *Granta Magazine* in 2010.

⁵⁰¹ Griffiths, *Slicing the Silence*, 349.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 349.

⁵⁰³ Fiennes, *Race to the Pole*, 352.

culture, is testament to the power of heroism's association with Antarctica since the earliest days of exploration.⁵⁰⁴

"Scott's last biscuit" may not have been found with the explorer, but it did date to his expedition. The biscuit has since been analysed, and found to contain less vitamin B and thiamine than other varieties, thanks to the use of white flour and sodium bicarbonate, rather than rolled oats and wholemeal flour (as used by Amundsen).⁵⁰⁵ Investigations into the contents of the biscuits invariably lead back to the arguments over the reasons Scott's expedition ended so disastrously. For those on the side of Huntford, the poor nutritional planning feeds into the narrative that Scott was an ill-prepared bungler, while for those on the side of Fiennes, it seems unfair to hold a century-old recipe, created when "the science of nutrition was in its infancy,"⁵⁰⁶ to the same nutritional standards we understand today. Here, thanks to its entanglement in a century of narrative, a humble biscuit becomes more than a relic of expedition sponsorship, transforming instead into a flashpoint for historiographic debate.

The connection between the Huntley & Palmers brand and Antarctica was also revisited on a larger scale during the centenary of Scott's *Terra Nova* expedition, with a limited edition replica series going on sale across the UK. Branded as "Capt. Scott's Expedition Biscuits," the "High Energy Low Cholesterol" snacks came in handy packs of four, encased in a cardboard carton that told the story of Scott's dash to the Pole:

When Capt. Robert Falcon Scott and Roald Amundsen had their Great Race to be the first to reach the South Pole in 1911/12, Huntley & Palmers baked the biscuits that the British team used to sustain them on their arduous journey.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁴ Another link to the Antarctic is Shackleton's *Aurora Australis* publication, published in Antarctica, that used stencilled packing cases as covers; these rare collectibles are now named for their covers, including the "Huntley and Palmers" edition.

⁵⁰⁵ Griffiths, *Slicing the Silence*, 348.

⁵⁰⁶ Huntley & Palmers, "British Antarctic Expedition, 1911."

⁵⁰⁷ Biscuit Packet, "Huntley & Palmers Capt. Scott's Expedition Biscuit," Best Before February 2015.

Consumers are then offered the chance to take on the role of Scott by consuming the biscuits that have been created to “the exact same recipe, only substituting vegetable oil for lard as a concession to today’s tastes.” While the change in ingredients is remarked upon, the aesthetic change is not. Instead of intricately stamped biscuits, these are roughly cut squares of greyish oatmeal – a far cry from the appealing biscuits featured a century earlier. These aesthetics appeal to a contemporary audience, however, as the rough appearance sits well with narratives of Antarctica as a tough place, where survival takes precedence over everything else.⁵⁰⁸ The rereleased biscuits, therefore, need not be pleasing to look at (or even to eat) – instead, the symbolic link that they provide into the narrative of a national British hero is what lends these biscuits an air of desirability to the target market.

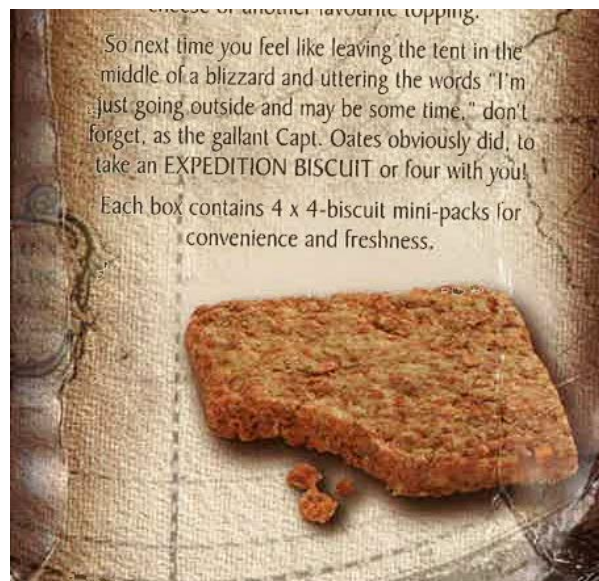


Figure 4.5: Detail of Huntley & Palmers biscuit packet, 2013
(Photo Credit: Hanne Nielsen)

⁵⁰⁸ The survival-giving energy contained within the biscuits is key, as demonstrated by the specific language on the packaging text: “With 470kcal per 100g of product, Huntley & Palmers’ EXPEDITION BISCUITS are packed with more energy than most confectionary or cereal bars.”

The promise of a link to history is further reinforced on the packing of the modern day product (Figure 4.5), where the famous story of Captain Oates' sacrifice is reprised:

So next time you feel like leaving the tent in the middle of a blizzard and uttering the words "I'm just going outside and may be some time," don't forget, as the gallant Capt. Oates obviously did, to take an EXPEDITION BISCUIT or four with you!

This tongue-in-cheek reference to Captain Oates' suicidal sacrifice illustrates the shift that has occurred over the intervening century. Where initially Scott, Oates, and their three companions were painted as tragic heroes, changing views of the expedition and the definition of 'hero' over the intervening years have led to the situation where on the one hand the maker of a product uses Scott's name to associate their product with Antarctica and with historical prestige, but at the same time recognises alternative interpretations of the traditional narrative, including Scott as bungler. Such wording enables the consumer to both partake of the original qualities – such as heroism and stoic masculinity – and to put themselves at an ironic distance from it. Making this concession allows space for the consumer to mock the received narrative at the same time as joining it, thus opening the potential audience to a much wider market than if the biscuit packaging had simply repeated the (now out-dated) myth of Scott as untouchable. Extremity, heroism, and historiography are all drawn upon to create a modern day wrapper for these recreated biscuits that are, as the packaging proudly states, "perfect with cheese or on their own."

Southward Ho! Yalumba's Cultivation of Antarctic Ties

Britain was not the only place where endorsements from Polar explorers were used to market products; Mawson's 1929 *Australian Antarctic Expedition* (AAE) attracted support from a range of Australian businesses, including the South Australian Yalumba wine.⁵⁰⁹ The product's name features in a number of songs

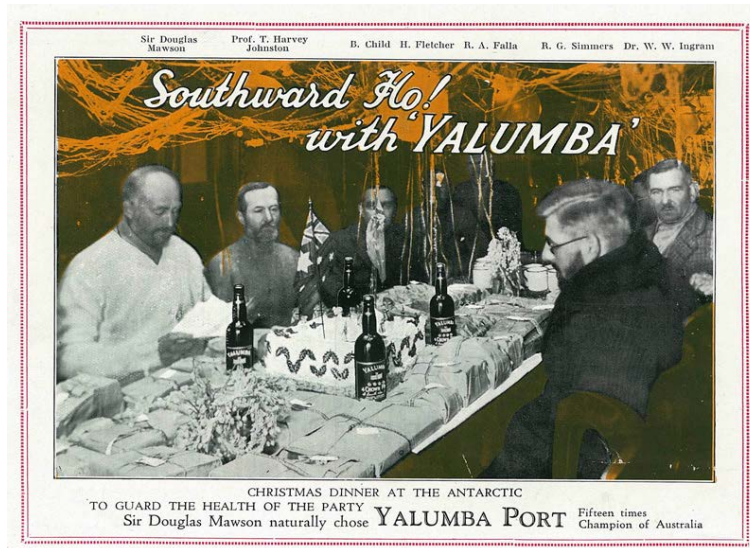
⁵⁰⁹ Provided by Messrs. S. Smith & Son. Yalumba port wine was also sent south on Mawsons' 1911–14 expedition.

written by expeditioners,⁵¹⁰ while a photograph from the Christmas dinner at Cape Denison was subsequently used in advertising material back home (Figure 4.6), in a campaign described by Barossa Valley wine merchants as “the most famous Yalumba 4 Crown Port advertisement.”⁵¹¹ The image, which appeared in adverts throughout 1930, is taken from the point of view of an expeditioner sitting just to the right of the head of the table, inviting the viewer into the scene. That scene consists of a table laden with food, gifts, and four bottles of Yalumba port wine, all of which are turned to face the camera so the branding is clearly visible. Seven expeditioners⁵¹² are visible around the table, occupied with reading letters or gazing upon the port and gifts. The black and white photograph has been coloured so the background appears orange, while the text “Southward Ho! with ‘YALUMBA’” has been superimposed across the top of the image. The caption, united with the image by a red border that bounds the entire advertisement, reads “Christmas dinner at the Antarctic: To guard the health of the party Sir Douglas Mawson naturally chose Yalumba Port.” This is a typical endorsement-style advertisement that uses a celebrity (and their well-known feats) to promote a product. It also carries connotations of extremity, suggesting that if Yalumba could guarantee health in the harshest of conditions, it will also be able to work wonders back home in Australia.

⁵¹⁰ See, for example, the closing stanza of “The Intrepid Explorer” – “Put me down on the first bit of/ Pack ice/ With Yalumba uncorked near my mouth/ And leave me to die unmolested/ For I see we’ll never get south” Trove, The National Library of Australia. “The Intrepid Explorer.”

⁵¹¹ Glug. “Southward Ho with Yalumba.”

⁵¹² Named in the advertisement in small text above the image as Sir Douglas Mawson, Prof. T. Harvey Johnston, B. Child, H. Fletcher, R.A. Falls, R.G. Simmers and Dr. W.W. Ingram.



*Figure 4.6: Mawson's party feature in a Yalumba port advertisement, 1930
(Source: Glug, "Southward Ho with Yalumba")*

One of the bottles of port that travelled to Antarctica with Mawson in 1929 worked further wonders in 2011, when it was put up for auction in support of an Antarctic Heritage organisation. The 92-year-old bottle, which was created by Yalumba for Mawson's expedition, was one of only four remaining from the original batch.⁵¹³ It was auctioned at a centenary dinner, marking 100 years since Mawson set off from Hobart on his first Antarctic expedition. Hosted by the Mawson's Huts Foundation, the event was intended to raise funds for the preservation of Mawson's huts at Cape Denison, Antarctica – the very setting of the photograph in the 1930s Yalumba advertisement. Yalumba had already supported a 1997 expedition dedicated to the restoration and upkeep of Mawson's huts, and supplied wine to the *Mawson's Hut Foundation Expedition* 2000/01.⁵¹⁴ Ten years later the historic 1929 bottle of port that bore the company's name served another purpose, raising almost \$15,000 for the Foundation, and thus contributing to both the upkeep of the physical hut in the Antarctic, and to the legacy of an Australian Antarctic hero. This legacy also

⁵¹³ AAP "Historic Mawson Bottle Could Fetch \$15,000." The other three were to remain at the Yalumba Museum, located in South Australia.

⁵¹⁴ "Report of the AAP Mawson's Huts Foundation Expedition," 21.

proved useful for the modern day owners of Yalumba, as they continued to maintain links with the Antarctic via the heritage association.



Figure 4.7: “Mawson’s Far Eastern Party” 2010 label (Source: Yalumba Image Register, “00112 Mawson’s Far Eastern Party Cabernet Sauvignon”)

Ongoing associations with contemporary Antarctic heritage activities lend an air of authenticity to the packaging of the Mawson’s range (Figure 4.7). Yalumba wines have featured woodcut style images of Mawson’s “Far Eastern Party” (Cabernet Sauvignon 2010), and “Cape Denison” Sauvignon Blanc (2010), as well as an image of Douglas Mawson’s face (Wrattonbully range, 2011). At first glance wine and Antarctica do not seem to have much in common. While some alcohols, including vodka and whisky, are culturally associated with cold-climate environments, wine is by contrast linked with the temperate regions in which it is produced (such as the Barossa Valley, in an Australian context). When it comes to cultural connotations, wine is not a particularly masculine or stoic drink – it is more likely to be enjoyed in comfortable surroundings, with associations of sociality and urbanity. So how does a beverage from balmy South Australia,

named for an Aboriginal word meaning “all the country around,”⁵¹⁵ and usually enjoyed at a room temperature that is well into double digits, come to play up its associations with Antarctica? The link is purely Mawson, as Antarctic explorer, but also as a well-known South Australian and national hero. Mawson’s heroic reputation only continued to grow once he returned to his homeland from his Antarctic adventures – his face even appeared on the Australian \$100 note. In the case of Yalumba wine, Mawson’s well-known feats are successfully used to market a modern day product, illustrating how the notion of Mawson as hero is still in circulation.

Making use of celebrity status to garner donations or raise funds by providing endorsements to companies was one way of ensuring an Antarctic expedition was financially viable. These endorsements also provided the companies concerned with material that was useful for showcasing their products. Endorsements are therefore another example of selling the story, this time with a more explicit link to advertising practices. In the case of recent re-releases of products such as Huntley & Palmers biscuits and Mawson branded Yalumba wine, the classic advertising strategy of “retreat into the past” has been “ideologically used to sell the product.”⁵¹⁶ Giving packaging an aged appearance, echoing the poses in famed photos of Antarctic explorers, and naming the figures in historical polar dress as Mawson and his men all gesture to a particular time in Antarctica’s past. The historical links between each product and the Antarctic have continued to be useful, precisely because of the lingering narratives of heroism which surround each Shackleton, Scott, and Mawson, and other leaders of the Heroic Era.

Acting and Re-enacting: Sponsorship, Centenaries and Adventure

Re-enactments of Heroic Era feats also provide an opportunity for the original sponsors to gain leverage from their historical Antarctic connections. Huntley &

⁵¹⁵ Wine Companion, “Yalumba.”

⁵¹⁶ O’Shaughnessy and Stadler, *Media and Society*, 99.

Palmers reassociated their brand with Antarctica in 2012 by becoming the official biscuit supplier to both the *International Scott Centenary Expedition* and the *British Services Antarctic Expedition*. The former expedition was a type of pilgrimage to pay homage to Robert Falcon Scott, with the aim of holding an honourable commemoration service in Antarctica on the centenary Scott's death.⁵¹⁷ This type of expedition sees participants quite literally follow in the footsteps of Heroic Era figures, while the focus on honour and "scientific legacy"⁵¹⁸ indicate that Scott is a figure still held in high regard by those taking part. The *British Services Antarctic Expedition (BSAE2012)* was somewhat different: British Armed Services members travelled "in the Spirit of Scott, but not in his tracks,"⁵¹⁹ and aimed to raise £10,000 for the Help for Heroes charity. Founded in 2007, the charity's aim is "to provide direct, practical support for wounded, injured and sick Veterans, Servicemen and women and their loved ones."⁵²⁰ Such association with an organisation that supports 'heroes' is also a re-enactment of past fundraising, as the *BSAE2012* website explains:

After news of Scott and his teams (sic) demise reached the UK, funds were contributed by the public to look after the families of the heroic explorers. In keeping with this sentiment, the *BSAE2012* aims to raise money for modern day military heroes.⁵²¹

These two expeditions differ in their goals, with one representing a literal re-enactment, and the other drawing upon the "Spirit of Scott" and the heroic resonances of his story. Nevertheless, both share a sponsor that has Heroic Era links. Although a more contemporary definition of hero is applied, the setting of Antarctica remains the same. The next section examines specific examples where heroic resonances of the past have been reprised in a contemporary context, and details the ways sponsors have capitalised on their involvement in modern day expeditions.

⁵¹⁷ Evans, "International Scott Centenary Expedition."

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ British Services Antarctic Expedition, "To Strive."

⁵²⁰ Help For Heroes, "Together."

⁵²¹ British Services Antarctic Expedition, "To Strive."

“Walking with the Wounded” in Antarctica: Charity, Sponsorship, and Inspiration

The 2013 *Walking with the Wounded* Antarctic expedition involved three teams of wounded war veterans from the UK, USA, and the Commonwealth undertaking a race to the South Pole. Antarctica is now heavily surveilled, with satellites collecting data about ice sheet, shelves and sea ice all year round. Nevertheless, in this instance the ice was cast as the ‘other’ against which these heroes had to pit themselves. This was the third *Walking with the Wounded* event, following on from the inaugural North Pole trek in 2011, and Everest climb in 2012.⁵²² Such expeditions are used to raise the profile of the Walking with the Wounded charity, to “provide inspiration to those coping daily with injury and disability,” and to demonstrate to both employers and those who have been wounded that injured veterans are still “able to achieve at the very highest level.”⁵²³ Like the *BSAE2012*, donations from the public go directly to the charity, as each expedition is financed by commercial backers. The backers, in turn, gain exposure for their brands, much as Huntley & Palmers and Bovril did some 100 years earlier.

Walking with the Wounded events involve modern day war veterans who have been injured in combat. They take the place of Heroic Era explorers, both literally as they walk in their footsteps, and metaphorically, as they take on the role of hero. In Western culture, explorer-heroes have traditionally been depicted as being white, able-bodied men. This is particularly true in the Antarctic context, where the stories of British explorers such as Scott and Shackleton have saturated the narrative landscape throughout the western world. The *Walking with the Wounded* Expedition challenged this notion, with both male and female soldiers with various disabilities and from a range of ethnic backgrounds taking part. Importantly, the figures pictured in advertising material – both for the expedition and for sponsors – still look the same as the explorers of the Heroic Era. Swaddled in thick clothing that masks any signs of femininity or race, they mimic their counterparts from a century earlier. Such

⁵²² “Walking with the Wounded, “Home.”

⁵²³ “Walking with the Wounded, “About.”

imagery allows the role of the hero to be recast, whilst still drawing on the rich symbolism associated with the image of a figure struggling across an icescape; their difference is allowed only to then be disguised so that the stereotypical hero figure – and all its attendant associations – can be recognised.

The *Walking with the Wounded* South Pole expedition had several sponsors: Virgin took title rights, while Noom Coach (US), Soldier On (Commonwealth) and Glenfiddich (UK) took on naming rights for each of the teams.⁵²⁴ Sponsorship provided funds for the expedition to go ahead, and in return each company was provided with positive media coverage and photographs of its brand name in situ in the Antarctic. This was not any version of the Antarctic, however. Rather than being characterised by photographs of charismatic penguins and the brilliant contrast of white ice to blue sky, the promotional photographs (taken, ironically, in Iceland)⁵²⁵ feature a series of figures, dressed in the thickest protective clothing, leaning forward into their harnesses as they haul their sleds across sastrugi-strewn plateaus and through snowstorms (Figure 4.8). The image depicts a tough landscape – freezing, unforgiving, embodying concepts of the sublime as described by the first explorers to venture into the Antarctic interior during the Heroic Era of exploration. It was such promotional images that formed the basis of domestic UK advertising campaigns for both the expedition itself, and the naming sponsors; the campaign run by Glenfiddich is examined in further detail below.

⁵²⁴ Relationships with both Virgin and Glenfiddich were managed by marketing consultancy firm Captive Minds, an agency that has since gone on to coordinate further polar promotions, including Manon Ossevoort's 2014 trek to the South Pole aboard a Massey Fergusson tractor.

⁵²⁵ Captive Minds, "Team Glenfiddich."



Figure 4.8: Glenfiddich whisky advertisement relating to the “Walking with the Wounded” expedition, 2013
(Source: Captive Minds, “Glenfiddich Spirit of A Nation”)

Spirit of a Nation: Glenfiddich Whisky, Heroism, and the Antarctic

In November 2003, Glenfiddich ran a £600,000 London-based advertising campaign that drew directly on the brand’s newfound Antarctic association. The campaign, which ran as posters, broadsheet adverts, digital sites, radio slots, and as signage in the London underground, included a partnership with the Telegraph Group media company (harking back to earlier examples of the previous chapter, the deal included the appearance in *The Sunday Telegraph* of exclusive human-interest advertorials related to the expedition).⁵²⁶ Glenfiddich advertisements feature images of men on skis towing sledges and trekking through a polar⁵²⁷ landscape, and ran under the tagline “Spirit of a Nation.” In

⁵²⁶ Harding, “Glenfiddich Champions Walking With The Wounded Race.”

⁵²⁷ The polar landscape in question is actually the Arctic, but in the context of the adverts, the heroic figures pictured, and the well-publicised expedition, it is intended to be read as the *Antarctic*.

each rendition, the sledge-hauling figures are depicted in motion, walking single file towards the vanishing point on the horizon, or towards the viewer (Figure 4.9). This kind of physicality and movement through the landscape was central to the Heroic Era, and in echoing the imagery of 100 years earlier the advertisements also invoke ideas of conquering and firsts. As the marketing company Captive Minds describe in their project showcase, the “key to the campaign was an image that conveyed determination, leadership, teamwork and the freezing conditions that team Glenfiddich would face in Antarctica.”⁵²⁸ The campaign brings to the surface ideas of heroism, nationalism and nostalgia, pitting man against nature, with a decent whisky at his side.

Glenfiddich sponsored the expedition because, as Senior Brand Manager Sarah Harding explained, it was “mutually beneficial” for both the charity and brand; “the stories [the expeditioners] tell, the inspirational people and how they have overcome challenges, has a spirit which matches our heritage.”⁵²⁹ Whisky is the quintessential explorer’s drink, “steeped in history, maturity, endurance, character, and edgy technology,”⁵³⁰ making the Antarctic trek an ideal fit for the brand. Whisky also has a long association with the idea of masculinity, much like Antarctica.⁵³¹ Such associations continue today, as brought to the fore by Emma Barnett in a 2013 article for the *Telegraph*, entitled “Why is Whisky Still a ‘Man’s Drink’?”⁵³² Although around a third of whisky drinkers in the UK and USA are now women,⁵³³ Barnett details how her “personal tippie still continues to raise eyebrows.”⁵³⁴ The Glenfiddich advertisements do feature women, but participants are pictured in poses that echo Heroic Era photographs of men man-hauling over the ice. Differentiating features such as gender, race, and physical ability are occluded by bulky polar clothing, so the images evoke the hero theme without overtly challenging assumptions that the hero must be white, male, and

⁵²⁸ Captive Minds, “Team Glenfiddich.”

⁵²⁹ Quoted in Brownsell, “Prince Harry Pays Tribute.”

⁵³⁰ Peat, *Shackleton’s Whisky*, 10. Peat highlights the associations between exploration and whisky, tracking the rediscovery and replication of Ernest Shackleton’s 1907 Rare Old Highland Malt

⁵³¹ Spracklen, “Respectable Drinkers.” Spracklen notes that “the respectability of whisky-drinking is associated with its masculine, white, privileged habits.”

⁵³² Barnett, “Why is Whisky Still a ‘Man’s Drink’?”

⁵³³ Bindel, “Whisky.”

⁵³⁴ Barnett, “Why is Whisky Still a ‘Man’s Drink’?”

able-bodied, thus perpetuating existing stereotypes. Other links to Antarctica that appear in the Glenfiddich campaign are very subtle, and relate to the continent itself. Ice cap satellite imagery was used to create the textured typography in the adverts (Figure 4.9), with the project description noting this attention to detail as paralleling “the craftsmanship and attention to detail that makes Glenfiddich the world’s most awarded single malt.”⁵³⁵ The links between whisky and Antarctica are numerous; created by narrative, they are powerful precisely because they reinforce existing tropes.



Figure 4.9: Poster relating to the Glenfiddich sponsored “Walking with the Wounded” Antarctic team, 2013 (Source: Captive Minds, “Team Glenfiddich”)

The Glenfiddich advertisements that formed part of this campaign play on themes of nationalism both in the product’s name (“Spirit of a Nation”), and by

⁵³⁵ Captive Minds, “Team Glenfiddich.”

visually reminding a British audience of earlier expeditions into the south that resulted in the claiming of the British Antarctic Territory.⁵³⁶ In this sponsored reprisal, the veterans who have fought for their nations continue to follow in the tradition of the early Antarctic explorers, who also carried their national flags and claimed territory for their monarchs. The British Prince Harry's patronage of the *Walking with the Wounded* expedition is very much tied up with ideas of empire and sovereignty, even at a time when the Antarctic Treaty has put all claims 'on ice'. Such narrative reinforcements of sovereignty are part of a larger effort to maintain symbolically the British claim (contested in the Antarctic Peninsula by Chile and Argentina): the British continue to send their Royal Navy vessels to patrol the Antarctic each season (whilst providing logistical support to British scientists). Walking across Antarctica in the footsteps of earlier explorers is one way of reinforcing Britain's physical links to the continent – in this case, the link is also associated with the whisky sponsor.

Antarctica may have provided a dramatic setting, but the target market for the Glenfiddich campaign that ran concurrently with the expedition was people back home. Alongside the figures in polar dress, the Glenfiddich adverts feature an image of a limited edition whisky that was created for the event. This product was created as a solution to the Captive Minds brief to "Inspire the nation to get behind the Glenfiddich Team."⁵³⁷ A special cask was toured around the UK, gathering over 2000 signatures and messages of support⁵³⁸ for Team Glenfiddich, before being filled with a 29-year-old single malt Scotch whisky – the "Spirit of a Nation." Scratching the surface of the Glenfiddich advertising campaign reveals how the connotations of the hero have changed over the last century, with charity standing in for overt imperialism.⁵³⁹ It also highlights elements that have stayed the same, including the association of Antarctica with the theme of heroism itself. Glenfiddich had no particular Antarctic link prior to the expedition, but saw the opportunity to create one by building a physical link

⁵³⁶ Such early expeditions also resulted in the areas now known as the Ross Dependency (New Zealand) and the Australian Antarctic Territory.

⁵³⁷ Captive Minds, "Glenfiddich Spirit of A Nation."

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ Nielsen, "Selling the South," 191.

via sponsorship. The sponsorship involvement also added to the company narrative in the process. By sponsoring the *Walking with the Wounded* expedition, the Glenfiddich brand both taps into and reproduces the myth of the Antarctic hero that continues to circulate in public discourse.

In the Footsteps of Heroes: Centenary Re-enactments

As the centenaries of Heroic Era voyages approached, both modern-day expeditioners and sponsors showed renewed interest in commemorating exploration narratives. Sponsorship plays an important role in modern day re-enactment expeditions, much as it did for the original explorers of the Heroic Era. As Farley puts it, invoking Shackleton (or any other Heroic Era figure)

legitimizes corporate sponsorship of these adults' expensive play... They are professionally obliged to record their adventures, leaving public traces that are not only more durable, but also more widely accessible than individual childhood fantasies.⁵⁴⁰

Just as the explorers of the Heroic Era were obliged to sell their stories back home, modern day expeditioners are expected to create a record of their endeavours. This record is of value for the corporate sponsors who make possible such expeditions. Farley has examined how Jack Wolfskin, for instance, provided support for Arved Fuchs' *Shackleton 2000* expedition: the outdoor outfitter hosted a website offering "customer enthusiasts the chance to meet its leader and win an 'authentic Arved Fuchs outfit (limited edition)'".⁵⁴¹ Writing in 2013, Spears et al concluded that "regarding celebrities as modern day heroes is positively associated with using them in ads,"⁵⁴² and this principle holds true in the Antarctic context. It also carries echoes of Byrd's 'hero business' of some 70 years before. The opportunity to wear explorers' clothing has other contemporary parallels; with the centenary celebrations of many Heroic Era expeditions on the horizon, companies such as Jaeger and Gieves and Hawkes⁵⁴³

⁵⁴⁰ Farley, "By Endurance We Conquer," 233.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., 245.

⁵⁴² Spears, Royne and van Steenburg, "Are Celebrity-Heroes Effective Endorsers?" 28.

⁵⁴³ Sullivan, "In Which Robert Falcon Scott's Jacket is Resurrected."

reprised their earlier Antarctic links by offering limited edition replica clothing for sale. That there is a market for these reprised artefacts indicates a desire for a tangible link to Antarctica's past, and signals an ongoing opportunity for both expedition sponsors, and companies wishing to capitalise on modern day Antarctic links and themes.

Ancestry is another connection to Antarctica that has been drawn upon to invoke the hero theme in recent years. Commercial Antarctic tour operators have offered special centenary voyages, taking descendants of Heroic Era explorers south as both guests and lecturers on special "In the Footsteps Of..." expeditions (as discussed in chapter 7).⁵⁴⁴ Other descendants have taken the 'footsteps' idea much more literally; the 2008/09 "Matrix Shackleton Centenary" expedition, which followed in the tracks of Shackleton's 1907–09 quest for the pole, included five descendants of Heroic Era figures.⁵⁴⁵ Henry Worsley, army officer and descendent of *Endurance* skipper Frank Worsley, was the expedition leader, and subsequently published an account of the journey entitled *In Shackleton's Footsteps: A Return to the Heart of the Antarctic*. This official account juxtaposes the modern expedition alongside the original push for the Pole, drawing parallels between funding challenges, sponsorship, weather, and the route itself. Several sponsors of the 1907 expedition offered support to the re-enactment, with Worsley explaining that as a result of "the eye-catching plan 'DESCENDENTS COMPLETING UNFINISHED FAMILY BUSINESS BY RETRACING SHACKLETON'S ROUTE ACROSS THE ANTARCTIC IN THE CENTENARY YEAR'" the party garnered interest from companies seeking an association with "the powerful Shackleton ethos."⁵⁴⁶ They were also attracted by the prospect of displaying their logos in publicity images from the expedition. The 2008/09 "In the

⁵⁴⁴ See Lindblad/National Geographic "Celebrating the Centennial" voyages (2014–16); Silversea "Shackleton Centenary" voyages (2015–16); Ice-Tracks "Shackleton Centenary Voyage 2015" (21 November – 10 December 2015); and Aurora Expeditions "In Shackleton's Footsteps" voyage (9 March – 26 March 2016).

⁵⁴⁵ The modern day expeditioners were descended from Frank Wild, Frank Worsley, Jameson Boyd Adams, and Shackleton himself.

⁵⁴⁶ Worsley, *In Shackleton's Footsteps*, 36.

Footsteps of Shackleton" expedition was a success commercially, physically,⁵⁴⁷ and in terms of generating an ongoing legacy: the Shackleton Foundation was founded in the wake of the expedition, ensuring that "Shackleton's name lives on as a synonym for courage, bravery and most of all, leadership."⁵⁴⁸ Such rhetoric gestures towards the recent transformation of Antarctic Heroic Era names from historical figures into concepts that can be applied more broadly, both within and outside of the Antarctic context.

The name Shackleton continues to hold allure for those who head south; in 2015 Henry Worsley mounted a solo expedition across Antarctica "in the spirit of Shackleton" to mark the centenary of the *Endurance* expedition, and to raise money for the Endeavour Fund for returned service personnel.⁵⁴⁹ After travelling 913 miles (1,469 km) in 69 days, Worsley fell ill with peritonitis and radioed for help. He was flown to Punta Arenas, but died in hospital on 24 January 2016.⁵⁵⁰ Worsley's death was narrated in heroic terms not unlike those used when Scott's fate was reported by the press a century earlier: he was described as "a man who showed great courage and determination"⁵⁵¹ by Prince William, while the *Daily Mail* claimed "Henry Worsley lived and died like a hero from another age."⁵⁵² His final message also carried echoes of Heroic Era language, with the acknowledgement that "I too have shot my bolt" (a reference to Shackleton's own words when he turned back from the South Pole in 1909) and the line "my summit is just out of reach."⁵⁵³ Worsley's ashes are due to be taken to South Georgia, to be buried alongside Ernest Shackleton in the cemetery at Grytviken, during the summer of 2017/18.⁵⁵⁴ Ice-Tracks Expeditions are advertising berths on "Henry Worsley's Final Voyage South" (30 November – 18 December

⁵⁴⁷ Worsley went on to re-enact the race to the Pole, guiding the Amundsen team during the "Walking with the Wounded" expedition, and set off in the 2015/16 to attempt the first solo crossing of Antarctica, as envisaged by Shackleton some 100 years earlier.

⁵⁴⁸ Worsley, *In Shackleton's Footsteps*, 247.

⁵⁴⁹ The Endeavour Fund, "Endeavour Fund." Established by The Royal Foundation in 2012 to "inspire servicemen and women to explore new physical challenges as part of their recovery; rebuilding their confidence and looking forward with optimism to the next chapter of their lives".

⁵⁵⁰ Press Association, "William and Harry's Sadness."

⁵⁵¹ BBC, "Explorer Henry Worsley Dies."

⁵⁵² Pendlebury, "The Smiling Selfies that Turned to Despair."

⁵⁵³ BBC, "Explorer Henry Worsley Dies."

⁵⁵⁴ Rowley, "Explorer Henry Worsley's Widow Plans Antarctic Voyage."

2017),⁵⁵⁵ allowing members of the public to follow the explorer to his final resting place. This particular voyage transforms Worsley from the one following in heroes' footsteps into the hero others seek to follow.

Leading from the South: Shackleton's Influence in the Boardroom

The reputations of Antarctic leaders have proven valuable in recent years, as the heroes have been reprised and their actions translated into a corporate setting. Farley has written how the 1990s "saw the emergence of a significant industry (mostly business management consultants) teaching Shackleton's leadership 'methods'"⁵⁵⁶ and this pattern is evident in books such as Margot Morrell and Stephanie Capprell's *Shackleton's Way: Leadership Lessons from the Great Antarctic Explorer* (1998), and Dennis N.T. Perkins et al's *Leading at the Edge* (2000). Perkins et al use Shackleton's *Endurance* expedition as a model for a leadership system. Each chapter provides an example of a strategy the authors recognise in Shackleton's expedition, before explaining how to apply it in a corporate setting; they draw parallels between the boardroom and Antarctica, equating the business arena with Antarctic landscapes, and managers with Shackleton. Although Antarctica and the boardroom may be far removed geographically, they are metaphorically linked by challenge: the man against nature trope is reprised, with the market taking the place of the icescape.⁵⁵⁷ This framing has proved lucrative, but it is also problematic. When writers resort to pitting humans against the environment, the opportunity to see Antarctica as part of a world ecosystem is occluded, and an anthropocentric world-view is reinforced.

The continued focus on Shackleton has implications for how both heroes and the Antarctic continent are conceived. Farley argues that "'Shackleton', although

⁵⁵⁵ Ice Tracks Expeditions, "Henry Worsley's Final Voyage South."

⁵⁵⁶ Farley, "'By Endurance We Conquer,'" 247. Examples used by Farley include Design Management Alliance [n.d.]; Enlightened Leadership International, 1998–2002; Morrell and Capparell, 2001; Perkins et al., 2000.

⁵⁵⁷ Perkins, Holtman, Kessler and McCarthy, *Leading at the Edge*.

naming a real historic person, also describes a subject position that others may occupy, provided the rules of the discourse itself do not exclude them.”⁵⁵⁸ For modern day explorers like Henry Worsley, that subject position is attractive; when speaking of Shackleton, Worsley raises him onto the pedestal of heroism: “...it is impossible to find reference in his writing of the fear of the unknown.”⁵⁵⁹ This perceived fearlessness and ability to manage risks has seen those in business attracted to Shackleton. The narratives that have been built around his legacy hold allure – as an explorer who pitted himself against the extreme Antarctic elements and survived, Shackleton acts as an “idealized model of white masculinity”.⁵⁶⁰ Given that positions of power in the business world are still overwhelmingly dominated by white men, Shackleton remains a good fit as an idol. However, the focus on a single figure, at the expense of all others who made possible his expeditions (Frank Wild, Frank Worsley, and Frank Hurley amongst them) excludes a range of other role models, thus reinforcing structural inequalities through the deployment of a selective narrative. Farley claims that

in invoking Shackleton, these institutions draw on a strongly raced and gendered discourse of leadership. A model of white male hegemony is adopted to strengthen positions that have traditionally been and remain dominated by white men.⁵⁶¹

A continued focus on individual figures from the Heroic Era – such as Shackleton – therefore has implications for everyday interactions, and shuts down alternative possibilities for showcasing a range of role models from different backgrounds. As Maddison puts it, the working class “lacked both the means of publicity and the self-regarding subjectivity of the middle class to write themselves into Antarctic history,”⁵⁶² and the repetition of the same heroic narratives has the effect of repeatedly locking out these alternative perspectives of Antarctica.

⁵⁵⁸ Farley, “By Endurance We Conquer,” 240.

⁵⁵⁹ Worsley, *In Shackleton's Footsteps*, 135.

⁵⁶⁰ Farley, “By Endurance We Conquer,” 247.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁵⁶² Maddison, *Class and Colonialism in Antarctic Exploration*, 194.

Abstractions and Echoes: Invoking Challenge via Shackleton's Antarctica

Homage has been paid to Heroic Era explorers in a range of other ways, including the manufacture of contemporary goods that are associated with historic Antarctic tales. One such manufacturer is the UK-based Shackleton Company. Inspired by tales of Leonard Hussey's music on the *Endurance* expedition, the company started producing banjos in 2013, and expanded to offer everything from replicas of Shackleton's sweater and mohair socks, to hand-made journals and handcrafted beer.⁵⁶³ The company's website explains that the link between the disparate goods in its range is Shackleton himself:

Everything we do is inspired by the great Antarctic explorer Ernest Shackleton, his Nimrod and Endurance expeditions, and in fact the whole of what is known as The Heroic Age of Polar Exploration.⁵⁶⁴

The question "What would Shackleton do?" also appears on company merchandise, alongside an image of the explorer. While the links between the wide range of products offered may at times seem tenuous, according to the company the two themes that unite all the products in the Shackleton Company's range are "the spirit of adventure of Ernest Shackleton, and a commitment to genuine British making."⁵⁶⁵ This focus on British-made goods brings the theme of nationalism to the fore in a new way. Rather than manifesting in treks across uncharted territory, as in the case of 'in the footsteps of' expeditions, this nationalism is concentrated more locally back in the UK. In the wake of the global financial crisis, when the job security of many under come threat, audiences were more receptive to narratives of conquering adversity, and to the concept of supporting local-made goods. The financial, social and temporal landscape may have all changed over the past hundred years, but the fact that nationalist ideas continue to be associated with a Heroic Era Antarctic explorer indicates the power of these early narratives, and the way different elements are foregrounded as useful at different points in time.

⁵⁶³ The Great British Banjo Company, "Shackleton Beers."

⁵⁶⁴ The Shackleton Company, "Our Story."

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

The Heroic Era narrative of Shackleton forms the basis for the first print advertisement for the Shackleton Banjo, which appeared in 2014 in the UK, and was also sold as a limited edition art poster (Figure 4.10).⁵⁶⁶ Featuring a narrow vertical portrait slice of Shackleton on the far left, the design is dominated by both an image of a banjo in the foreground of the left lower quadrant, and the stylised text in the upper right hand quadrant that reads “The Shackleton Vital Mental Medicine Banjo – built in Britain by the Great British Banjo Co.” A Union Flag under the text reinforces the British identity of the brand, and the red detail from the flag is carried through in the subheading “vital mental medicine.” The phrase comes from Shackleton’s *Endurance* expedition – indeed, it is attributed to “The Boss” himself.⁵⁶⁷ After the ship was crushed and sunk, the men were permitted to retain only the essentials, and meteorologist Leonard Hussey’s banjo was one such item, as the music helped to boost morale. The instrument being advertised here has no link to Antarctica, but the inclusion of Shackleton’s photograph, his name, and a quote about a different banjo all weave a narrative of historical associations around the modern product. British nationalism also plays an important narrative role. Whereas there has been a recent push in his country of birth to reclaim Shackleton as Irish, this advertisement figures him firmly as a British hero; variations of the “built in Britain” claim appear three times throughout the advertisement, as well as in the web address (thegreatbritishbanjocompany.com). The result of this advertisement for The Shackleton Banjo is to reinforce the image of Shackleton as an important Heroic Era figure whose historical insights continue to be useful today.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶ Middelton, “First Press Ad for Shackleton Banjo.” The Great British Banjo blog preceded the more established Shackleton Company.

⁵⁶⁷ National Maritime Museum Cornwall, “Leonard Hussey’s Banjo.”

⁵⁶⁸ As of 2017, the *Shackleton Company* markets British-made parkas and woollen clothing, inspired by Shackleton.

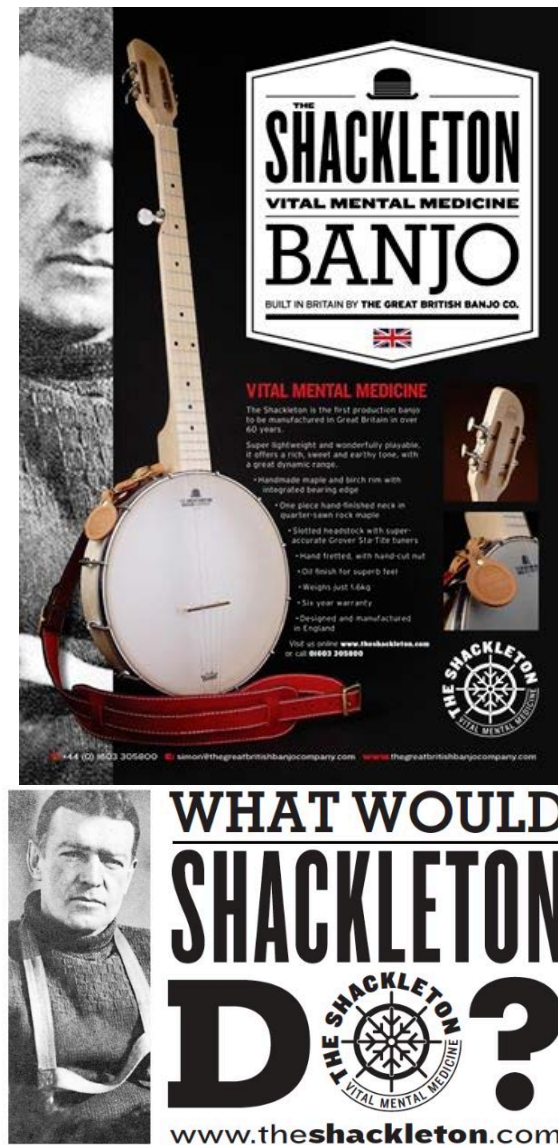


Figure 4.10: Advertising poster, 2014 (Source: Middleton, “First Press Ad”) and
Figure 4.11: Web image, 2014 (Source: Middleton, “What Would Shackleton Do?”)
for The Great British Banjo Company, later The Shackleton Company

Shackleton’s name, narrative and legacy have been used as both marketing strategies and as metaphors over the past century, with companies riding on a wave of “Shackletonmania.”⁵⁶⁹ The Shackleton Company “believes that the modern world needs his inspiration as much today as his men did a century ago,” and explicitly uses the explorer’s name (Figure 4.11), but they are by no means alone. A 2009 advertisement for Detroit city (Figure 4.12) illustrates the extent

⁵⁶⁹ Farley, “By Endurance We Conquer,” 232.

to which the Shackleton narrative has permeated contemporary popular culture. Created by the agency Doner in response to a brief from Time Inc “to craft a campaign aimed at young, college grads, especially those with creative personalities,”⁵⁷⁰ the “Shackleton Plan” centres on a recreation of Shackleton’s apocryphal ‘Men Wanted’ advertisement (Figure 1.2). While the headline has been tweaked to read Men & Women Wanted, the rest of the copy – “hazardous journey, small wages, bitter cold” – is left intact. The image is immediately recognisable, as are the connotations of Antarctic challenge and triumph that accompany the Shackleton story. In an explanation of their design, the advert’s creators claimed to have been inspired by the legend “that Sir Shackleton drew 5,000 men to join him in a 1914 Antarctic expedition with a tiny want ad placed in a London newspaper.”⁵⁷¹

The designers sought to emulate the same process via their recycling of the advert, this time using it to draw creative professionals to the city of Detroit. Although the pitch did not win the competition, the fact that this advertisement was created at all indicates that canonical Antarctic narratives have found an application outside of the white continent and a particular historic era, acting instead as signifiers of both challenge and opportunity. Shackleton’s story is used to invoke the challenging environment of the Antarctic, drawing parallels between the hostile physical environment of the south and the hostile economic and social conditions of Detroit. At the same time, it offers those willing to respond to the advertisement the chance to join the heroic legacy of Shackleton by overcoming challenges: for “those determined to brave the land of opportunity,” the associated Facebook page claims, “Detroit awaits.”⁵⁷² In this case, a reproduction of an apocryphal advertisement (Figure 1.2) is used to invoke narratives about both Antarctica and a well-known Heroic Era figure, triggering associations of heroism, extremity, and leadership that have had over a century to ferment into their current, culturally potent form.

⁵⁷⁰ Burn, “Move to Detroit.”

⁵⁷¹ Shackleton Plan, “The Shackleton Plan.”

⁵⁷² Ibid.



Figure 4.12: “Shackleton Plan” move to Detroit advertising pitch, 2009
 (Source: Burn, *Move to Detroit for an Epic Adventure*)

The Changing Face of the Antarctic Hero

The heroism trope continues to be associated with Antarctica, where it manifests in a range of different ways. Dating back to the dawn of the Heroic Era in 1897, the theme has been repeated, reprised, subverted, and revisited. Representations of the Antarctic hero have also shifted along with public attitudes. Where once Scott’s death in the heart of whiteness was held up as an example of supreme sacrifice for one’s country (the dominant narrative in Britain prior to World War II), in the later part of the twentieth century it was Shackleton’s leadership skills that were seen as the most useful relic of the Heroic Era. This shift in public perception has been paralleled in advertising material, as seen in the recent examples that venerate Shackleton. As Spears et al put it in their exploration of the links between heroes, celebrities and advertising, “the traditional heroic model is evolving and is gradually being re-configured within a contemporary society.”⁵⁷³ Examples considered in this chapter have shown how a hero can

⁵⁷³ Spears, Royne and van Steenburg, “Are Celebrity-Heroes Effective Endorsers?” 20.

provide a direct endorsement for a brand (Bovril), offer narrative links between a product and Antarctica (Huntly & Palmers, Yalumba), or furnish inspiration for merchandise with no south polar links at all (The Shackleton Company). The continent and its history are accessible via narratives and metaphor, allowing a wide audience to experience both Antarctica and the Heroic Era from afar.

Focussing on the well-known leaders of Heroic Era expeditions, however, can be problematic, as invoking the hero theme directs the gaze towards the past. While the trope of the hero is easily recognisable when figures such as Scott, Shackleton or Mawson are deployed, it is also exclusionary in that it shuts out other representations of Antarcticans (including women and workers). Nevertheless, 'hero' is not a static concept; the examples considered illustrate how the definition has shifted over time. In the Antarctic context, advertisements have moved from featuring heroes themselves in endorsement format to employing the *idea* of a hero, typified by Glenfiddich's de-identified figures walking into the whiteness. The hero trope has come to stand as shorthand for Antarctica, masculinity, and wider cultural narratives of 'man versus wild.' While the sepia days when Antarctica was "a testing ground for men with frozen beards to see how dead they could get"⁵⁷⁴ may be long gone, the spectre of the hero continues to loom large over the Antarctic ice.

⁵⁷⁴ Wheeler, *Terra Incognita*, 1.

Chapter 4 – Extreme Antarctica

In the winter of 2014, an unusual visitor took to the slopes of New Zealand's Mt Hutt Ski Field to showcase its extreme credentials. Dressed in a crash helmet, with a snowboard under one arm, the Magellanic penguin looked quite at home on the chairlift barrier arm; the South American bird was depicted undertaking an extreme sport⁵⁷⁵ in order to market Resene's new range of Extreme Paint (Figure 5.1). This advertisement brings the idea of Antarctic extremity to the fore, using a penguin and the species' association with the far south in order to sell white paint on the domestic New Zealand market. Penguins of all varieties have been used as shorthand for Antarctica on many occasions, instantly situating any ice in the advertisement in the far south, and often calling upon the continent's associations with extremity. In this case, the icy positioning of the advertisement was important; when viewed against a backdrop of snow and ice, the Antarctic landscape depicted in the image blurred into the viewer's own surroundings. Such an icy white background also echoed the Resene product itself. The paint is white, like the Antarctic, and helps to cool down a house by virtue of reflecting the sun's rays. The association with toughness in the face of extreme weather conditions is also paramount. So it was that on an unassuming mountain face in New Zealand's Southern Alps, a lost penguin, a helmet, several paint tins, and the word 'extreme' conjured up Antarctica as a potent publicity device.

⁵⁷⁵ Other iterations of the advertisement show penguins undertaking alternative extreme sports, such as skydiving.



Figure 5.1: Chairlift advertisement for Resene's "Extreme Paint" Mt Hutt Skifield, New Zealand, 2014 (Photo Credit: Hanne Nielsen)

This chapter uses examples of penguins, heroes, and the pursuit of polar firsts to explore how the theme of extremity has functioned in a range of Antarctic advertisements. The term 'extreme' is defined here to refer to exceptional limits, which can be spatial, temporal, or understood in terms of physical feats: to take a product to Antarctica is to take it to extremes, quite literally. The advertisements examined here all employ the idea of Antarctica as an extreme environment in order to market a range of products – those with existing links to the far south, those forging imaginative links, and those that are conspicuously absent. The extremity theme casts Antarctica as the ultimate testing ground: as the coldest, highest, windiest, driest continent, it is a place for firsts, and for superior performance. Many companies that have drawn upon endorsements from heroes and other polar explorers also seek to associate their products with extremity; the Glenfiddich Whisky discussed in the previous chapter is but one example. The advertisements in this chapter reinforce the idea that Antarctica is not only a place for tough people, it is also a place for tough things; in many instances, the two ideas go hand in hand. Extremity as a theme differs from heroism, however,

in that the focus is less on people, and more on machinery and equipment. A common thread running through the advertisements examined in this section is the idea that if a product works well in Antarctica, it will work absolutely anywhere. This is true on a range of scales, whether the product is an item of clothing, a mechanical lubricant, or a building material. If Antarctica is cast as the ultimate in extreme environments, then any products that function there must also, by association, be extremely robust.

The use of extremity in advertising campaigns is not limited to Antarctic examples. In investigating “The Selling of Risk in Extreme Sport,” Catherine Palmer has highlighted how “previously ‘on the edge’ behaviour now features in a whole range of media,” where it is used to sell “mainstream commodities such as sunglasses, soft drinks, watches, alcoholic beverages and clothing.”⁵⁷⁶ Watch manufacturers, energy drink producers, and alcohol brands have long made use of mountainous peaks, deep oceans, and extreme sports in the marketing of their products, so the discourse of extremity “now enjoys a wide social circulation.”⁵⁷⁷ Energy drinks in particular “rely extensively on imagery associated with extreme sports.”⁵⁷⁸ Companies such as Red Bull have built their brand around the twin concepts of extremity and risk, and their logo has appeared everywhere from parachutes, racing cars, and expedition sleds, to the deep sea⁵⁷⁹ and the stratosphere.⁵⁸⁰ The common thread throughout all such examples is the notion that if a product performs under such difficult conditions, it will have no issues under everyday circumstances.⁵⁸¹ If pushing the boundaries of the possible is the aim, taking products to Antarctica is a logical progression.

The extremity frame has been associated with Antarctica since the Heroic Era, and continues to be deployed in modern day advertisements. It peaked, however, during the mid-twentieth century, when wooden huts and bearded men were still emblematic of the continent, and environmental concerns had yet to come to

⁵⁷⁶ Palmer, “Shit Happens,” 325.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 325.

⁵⁷⁸ Miller, “Wired,” 481.

⁵⁷⁹ Red Bull, “8 of the Deepest Places.”

⁵⁸⁰ Red Bull, “World Record Jump.”

⁵⁸¹ In the case of products like Red Bull, this positioning also says something about the identity of the consumer, associating them with risk-taking, limit-pushing behaviour.

the fore. This chapter details human activity in the far south through the 1950s; this time period saw a renewed wave of interest in the Antarctic, thanks to events such as the International Geophysical Year (IGY) and the Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition (TAE), and the negotiation of the Antarctic Treaty (1959). It argues that while the extremity theme is closely linked to ideas of heroism and masculinity, the presence of women⁵⁸² and the sense of greater ‘cushiness’ from the 1970s onwards decreased the connection of the continent with extremity, and led to new manifestations of the idea. The rise of environmental concerns in the decades since the 1950s has also made it problematic to advertise products such as oil and vehicles using Antarctic scenery.⁵⁸³ The chapter therefore provides historical context for this ‘heyday’ of Antarctic extremity, before exploring how the theme has manifested in a range of advertisements.

Mid-century Antarctica: Logistics, Exploration, Claims and the Treaty

The 1950s were a particularly busy time in Antarctica’s human history, thanks to events such as the US *Operation Deepfreeze* (1955–56) and the *Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition* (1955–58). While such large-scale activities were new, the rhetoric of extremity that surrounded them was not; the associations between polar regions and extremity were imported, to some degree, from the male-dominated field of mountaineering, which emerged as a sport in the late nineteenth century. Associations between mountaineering and masculinity became particularly important following the World Wars, as returned soldiers sought ways to repair their damaged manhood.⁵⁸⁴ Arguments about the importance of mountaineering as a recuperation of masculinity following the world wars also apply readily to the Antarctic; immediately after World War II the US Navy mounted *Operation Highjump* (1946–47), sending men (many of whom had just returned from war) to set up the base Little America IV, and to

⁵⁸² The US allowed women to work in Antarctica in 1969, while the British Antarctic Survey first allowed women to winter over in 1996. Davis, “This IEEE Fellow.”

⁵⁸³ This does not mean such advertising has ceased altogether – in 2017 Hyundai garnered headlines by sending their “Endurance” vehicle to cross Antarctica, driven by Ernest Shackleton’s great-grandson. Hyundai, “Shackleton Returns.”

⁵⁸⁴ Gilchrist, “Gender and British Climbing Histories,” 224.

map the coastline of Antarctica. *Operation Deepfreeze* followed, and 3400 men⁵⁸⁵ from the US Navy headed to Antarctica in order to create facilities including a base at the geographic South Pole, and logistics for the upcoming International Geophysical Year (IGY) of 1957–8. The period is interesting historically as it saw ex-service personnel pave the way for science in the region; science has since come to be seen as central to Antarctica's value, together with the notion of peace.

During the mid twentieth century, a strong interest in attaining 'firsts' remained. The *Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition* (TAE), which sought to claim a continental crossing as a first, was a particular focus for Britain and New Zealand during this period. Expedition leader Vivian Fuchs aimed to complete Shackleton's planned 1914–16 journey across Antarctica⁵⁸⁶ from the Weddell Sea to the Ross Sea, via the Geographic South Pole.⁵⁸⁷ The Ross Sea support party was led by the New Zealander Edmund Hillary. Hillary had already gained 'extreme' credentials when he became the first to summit Mt Everest in 1953, along with Sherpa Tenzing Norgay. He would soon dominate headlines again, with his depot-laying journey to the South Pole making his party become the first to reach the South Pole overland since Amundsen and Scott in the Heroic Era. With Fuchs and Hillary approaching the Pole from two sides, the media sought to represent the expedition as a modern re-run of the 1911 'race to the Pole' rather than as a 'scientific' expedition.⁵⁸⁸ Such a depiction horrified Fuchs (not least because Hillary had been instructed to turn back 800km before reaching the Pole itself),⁵⁸⁹ but it clearly illustrated how strong the Heroic Era narratives remained in Antarctic discourse.

In the New Zealand context, Dodds credits the local organisers of the expedition with "attempting to create and sustain an Antarctic culture, which built on

⁵⁸⁵ Belanger, *Deepfreeze*, 131.

⁵⁸⁶ Fuchs, "The Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition." The TAE party called their base "Shackleton" after the Heroic Era Figure.

⁵⁸⁷ The Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition is better known in history as the Endurance expedition.

⁵⁸⁸ Dodds, "The Great Trek," 109.

⁵⁸⁹ Day, *Antarctica*, 478.

earlier 'Heroic Era' connections with the polar continent."⁵⁹⁰ Such a culture continues to this day, with Christchurch proudly displaying artefacts from the TAE in Canterbury Museum,⁵⁹¹ and using these to support its identity as an Antarctic Gateway city. The TAE expedition also sparked a new discourse around modern day exploration and the use of technology. Images from the TAE placed Fuch's Tucker Sno-Cats and Hillary's Massey Ferguson tractors that were loaned out for use on the trek into the spotlight.⁵⁹² These images highlighted the importance of machinery in the post-heroic era of Antarctic exploration.⁵⁹³

Following the TAE expeditions, facilities on Ross Island were adapted for use during the International Geophysical Year (1957–58). The IGY saw international scientific cooperation happen around the globe on an unprecedented scale, as scientists from all over the world took part "in a series of coordinated observations of various geophysical phenomena."⁵⁹⁴ These observations also took place in the polar regions, and as a result, 49 stations were built in the Antarctic.⁵⁹⁵ Many sites, including the Geographic South Pole, are still operational today.⁵⁹⁶ The IGY also had lasting implications in the international policy arena. The international cooperation that had been fostered by the project – even in the midst of the Cold War – was harnessed, both in order to encourage future cooperation, and to ensure security in increasingly unstable times. By the late 1950s there were seven countries with territorial claims in the Antarctic (Figure 5.2), and the twin superpowers of the United States and the USSR were also eyeing up a slice of the ice. Dodds describes the solution as twelve countries coming together to produce "an attractive creation myth: they used science and

⁵⁹⁰ Dodds, "The Great Trek," 100.

⁵⁹¹ The Antarctic Gallery at the Canterbury Museum features both a Tucker Sno-Cat and a Ferguson tractor used on the TAE expedition.

⁵⁹² Talbot, "A study of the techniques used by the Ross Sea Committee to Raise Funds." Talbot notes "The biggest gifts in kind were related to the transport, the oil/petrol/lubricants from the British Petroleum Company (New Zealand), and also the five tractors loaned from Massey Fergusson Ltd." Ibid., 12.

⁵⁹³ In 2016 the Ferguson tractor was used to raise the profile of the Antarctic Heritage Trust, with a machine driving the length of New Zealand in order to raise funds for the restoration of the TAE hut on Ross Island. Massey Ferguson, "Expedition South."

⁵⁹⁴ The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, Medicine. "The International Geophysical Year."

⁵⁹⁵ Nielsen, "From Shelter to Showpiece," 3.

⁵⁹⁶ Amundsen-Scott South Pole Station has been replaced several times (most recently in 2009), but research continues on the same site.

scientists to portray themselves as political visionaries seeking to introduce peace and harmony to a remote continent.”⁵⁹⁷ The Antarctic Treaty was signed in Washington on 1 December 1959 by twelve nations,⁵⁹⁸ including all seven with a prior claim to part of Antarctica, and has remained in effect ever since. Such context contributes to the theme of extremity by marking Antarctica as different to other parts of the globe, perpetuating a popular (though problematic) “Antarctic exceptionalism.”⁵⁹⁹

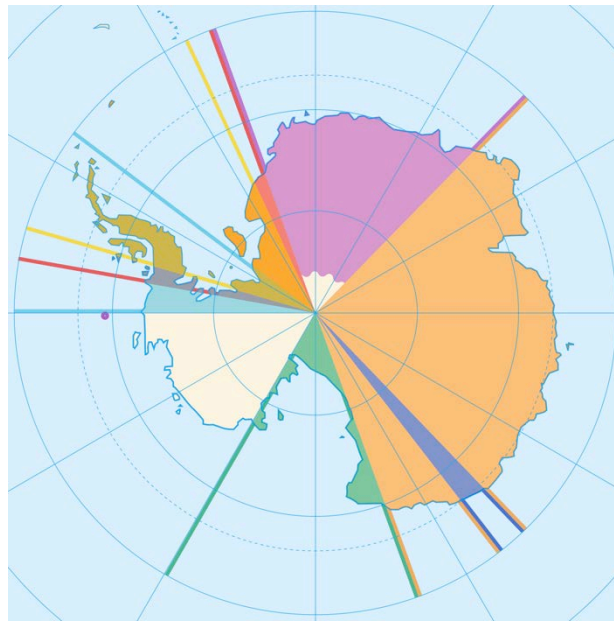


Figure 5.2: Antarctica overlaid with territorial claims of Norway (pink) Australia (orange), France (blue), New Zealand (green), and the overlapping Argentina (yellow), Chile (aqua) and the UK (red). (Image Credit: Lokal_Profil CC-BY-SA-2.5).

⁵⁹⁷ Dodds, *The Antarctic*, 86.

⁵⁹⁸ The twelve original signatories to the Antarctic Treaty were Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway, UK (all claimant nations), the USA and USSR (who both reserved the right to make a claim in future), and non-claimants Belgium, Japan and South Africa.

⁵⁹⁹ Hemmings, “Beyond Claims,” 90.

The Creative Revolution in Advertising

Changes were also afoot in the advertising industry during the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1950s there were a series of mergers and consolidations in advertising agencies, as customers came to expect a full package of research, package design, publicity and sales analysis. While advertising was considered a glamorous profession at the time,⁶⁰⁰ it was also competitive – and repetitive. According to Stephen Fox, in the US context “a typical 1950s ad repeated a simple theme.”⁶⁰¹ This led the industry magazine *Advertising Age* to lament in 1952 that “too many people are imitating too many other people... too many advertisers are ‘adapting’ instead of creating.”⁶⁰² The old model of matching copy with an image was about to be disrupted, however, with art and advertising coming together to be celebrated in new ways. As emotions began being deployed more and more often in advertising material, the question of what a product could do for a consumer gained importance.⁶⁰³ Such changes would usher in advertising’s coming of age, as the industry sped towards the baby-boomer market and consumer movement of the 1960s.⁶⁰⁴

In the 1950s there was also a shift in focus from research to instinct-based advertisements, and from Baroque and Romantic designs to Modernist conventions,⁶⁰⁵ marking “a clear break from the kind of selling techniques that had been around since the birth of modern consumer culture in the late nineteenth century.”⁶⁰⁶ Up until this point, superlative-laden copy had taken precedence over visuals, and the usual process for creating an advertisement resembled an assembly line, with the copywriters completing the text and handing this to the art department for illustration. Bill Bernbach, who was both President and Creative Director of the 1949 start-up DBB, was central to this change; together with Ned Doyle and Maxwell (Mac) Dane he introduced an

⁶⁰⁰ Tungate, *Adland*, 38.

⁶⁰¹ Fox, “The Mirror Makers,” 187.

⁶⁰² As quoted in Fox, “The Mirror Makers,” 179.

⁶⁰³ Leiss et al, “Social Communication in Advertising,” 211.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ad Age*, “History: 1960s.”

⁶⁰⁵ Samuel, “Thinking Smaller.” np.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, np.

innovative new approach that would become known as ‘new’ advertising. Bernbach insisted that copy and image be considered together, with the functions of art and copy both integrated into the creative process,⁶⁰⁷ and that each advertisement should contain only one main idea.⁶⁰⁸ DDB operated on the adage that less is more; this new style of advertisement – one “based in surprise or interruption”⁶⁰⁹ that used something unusual to make the viewer stop, look, and take notice – would later see Bernbach credited with being the father of advertising’s ‘creative revolution.’⁶¹⁰ The advertisements examined below span this period of revolution, with early examples featuring large amounts of text, and more recent cases giving precedence to a single image and/or message.

Going Places: Vehicles and Oil Brave Antarctica’s Chill

Machinery is central to the extremity theme, as it is the ability to travel across and over the Antarctic ice at much faster speeds that marks the Mechanical Age – when the extreme endurance of machines came to the fore – from the earlier Heroic Era. Many companies have sent their vehicles down to the coldest, highest, driest, windiest place on earth to prove themselves in the ultimate testing ground that is Antarctica, and they continue to do so today.⁶¹¹ Famous vehicles have included the Massey Fergusson tractor that carried Hillary to the South Pole in 1957, which was later featured on the New Zealand \$5 note, and the Hägglunds cross country tracked vehicles used by the New Zealand and Australian Antarctic programmes, which are available for tourist rides at Christchurch’s International Antarctic Centre.⁶¹² There are also a range of domestic advertisements for the sorts of servicing products required to keep

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., np.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., np.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., np.

⁶¹⁰ Hallberg, *All Consumers Are Not Created Equal*, 133.

⁶¹¹ In the summer of 2014/15 the car manufacturer Skoda sent a group of Chinese Skoda owners on a cruise to the Antarctica, in order to see the “Yeti” model in action at Great Wall Station, while in March 2017 Hyundai sent Ernest Shackleton’s great grandson on a journey across Antarctica in its “Endurance” model.

⁶¹² International Antarctic Centre, “Hagglund Ride.” The website explains that “The ride is highly authentic and exciting and simulates the conditions scientists experience riding in a Hagglund across the ice and over mounds, up and down hills, across crevasses and through water!”

machinery healthy under extreme conditions – Kilfrost (A1949a, A1950a)⁶¹³ and Eveready Preston anti-freeze (A1935n) amongst them. The advertisements in the following section all employ straightforward examples of machinery being used under extreme conditions; the products were used first in Antarctica, then in advertising. The discourse of extremity is evident where any type of machinery has an Antarctic link,

A 1933 example for Veedol Motor Oil is typical of advertisements for machines used in Antarctica. The double page spread (Figure 5.3) includes a large portrait of Byrd on the left, and an illustration of the Veedol can on the right, with a link between the Antarctic and America made by the title text: “In Little America with Byrd. In Big America with You.” The audience are offered the chance to make a connection with the well-known explorer by using the same product – the same strategy used in endorsement advertisements during the Heroic Era. Here, the question posed is “How can you choose more wisely than to choose the identical VEEDOL Motor Oil that Admiral Byrd picked?” Having established the Antarctic credentials of the oil, the advertisement urges viewers to “change today for your winter protection.” Safety is also a quality that is sought by automobile owners, and is highlighted here via an Antarctic link. This is a classic example of an advertisement that straddles two themes, calling upon both heroism and extremity in order to sell a product on the domestic (in this case US) market.

⁶¹³ Kilfrost. “About Us.” The Kilfrost advertisement is featured alongside the explanation: “Between 1949 and 1952 Kilfrost's Radiator Anti-Freeze was used in the Norwegian–British–Swedish Antarctic Expeditions, and the same product was favoured by the 1952 to 1954 British North Greenland Expedition team, and the 1955 to 1958 Commonwealth Trans-Arctic Expeditions.”

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

In Little America with Byrd.

It's the **OIL** in



In 1933... as in 1929... Rear Admiral Byrd chooses VEEDOL for his Antarctic Expedition... Now you can get that same free-flowing, cold-proof VEEDOL in refinery-sealed cans... Change today for your winter protection

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

In Big America with You.

the can that counts



There are many motor oils now sold in sealed cans... A fine idea... A great safeguard. But, after all, it's the OIL in the can that counts. It's the oil not the can that lubricates your motor. And now with cold weather at hand... with the increased dangers of winter driving... the OIL in the can is more important than ever. Change to low cold-test, free-flowing winter VEEDOL. It's now yours in tamper-proof, refinery-sealed cans. When your dealer empties that VEEDOL sealed can into your crankcase... you know you are getting clean, fresh, full-bodied VEEDOL... 100% Pennsylvania at its finest... The most effective cold weather motor protection money can buy. How can you choose more wisely than to choose the identical VEEDOL Motor Oil that Admiral Byrd picked? The oil to which he has entrusted the success of his expedition, the safety of his motors, the lives of his men.

VEEDOL for Winter Driving now available in sealed cans

ON SALE TODAY THE SAME VEEDOL THAT SAFEGUARDS THE BYRD EXPEDITION

Figure 5.3: Byrd endorsement for Veedol, 1933
(Source: The Saturday Evening Post, Nov 18, 1933)

Antarctic heroes are not the only figures to feature in Antarctic advertisements for oil and machinery – scientists have also made an appearance. In March 1956 an advertisement for Special Energol Visco-Static Motor Oil appeared in *Wheels: Australia's Motor Magazine*, under the headline “The Men of Mawson [Station]” (Figure 5.4). This advertisement is unusual as it is one of few examples to feature researchers⁶¹⁴ – the men pictured were all part of the *Australian National Antarctic Research Expedition* (ANARE). It is also an early example of a company associating a technical product with a National Antarctic Programme – an advertising technique that continues to be used today. This association between ANARE and Visco-Static Motor Oil is the equivalent of earlier advertisements that used a well-known Heroic Era figure to directly endorse a product, such as Mawson himself and his links to the Yalumba wine brand (as discussed in the previous chapter). In this case, the endurance and versatility of the product are highlighted thanks to visuals and text that call upon the oil's Antarctic links. The

⁶¹⁴ According to the ANARE Club, the “Mawson Men” picture was taken on Sunday 30th January 1955 at the Vestfold Hills.

top half of the page is dominated by a photograph of six men and their tent, shown against a backdrop of snow and ice, and the bottom half contains several paragraphs of explanation about both the ANARE expedition and the tough conditions under which the oil has performed, as well as a map showing the Australian Antarctic Territory. Given that this advertisement appeared in a motoring magazine, the assumed audience had an existing interest in vehicle maintenance and motoring. They did not need to be told why oil was important, but rather convinced that this particular brand of oil was tough and reliable, having been proven in the Antarctic.

The Men of Mawson

Who are the men of Mawson? They are scientists and biologists, cooks and physicians, meteorologists and mechanics, geologists and radio experts. They are of the hand-picked few who have pioneered Australian Antarctic Research at Heard Island, Macquarie Island, and at Mawson on the Antarctic continent. They are the heirs to great traditions of Antarctic achievement established by such notable Australians as Mawson, Edgeworth David, Wilkins, Rymill, and J. K. Davis. They are also a handful of men alone in the white wilderness of 2,472,000 square miles of Australian Antarctica. What they learn, they learn the hard way.

Two years have elapsed since Mr. Phillip Law, Director of the Antarctic Division, Department of External Affairs, led the party which established Australia's permanent Antarctic station at Mawson. In that time it has frequently been found necessary to pre-heat the tumps of Mawson's Weasel snow-vehicles before starting from cold. This was because the engine lubricating oil then available tended to thicken and crystallize at temperatures of -10°F and below. Even then, although the warmed oil flowed freely in the sump area, the bearings, camshaft and tappets were oil-starved for quite some time after start-ups.

On the other hand, engines are frequently subjected to high running temperatures when, for long periods, the Weasels haul heavy loads at walking speed.

The answer to the twin problems of providing adequate lubrication at extremes of heat and cold is now found in the extraordinary properties of Special Energol Visco-Static Motor Oil.

Laboratory and field tests, under wide temperature variations as experienced in Iceland and the Sahara, have demonstrated that this revolutionary new oil will flow at -30°F (20° colder than the temperature at which normal winter grade oil thickens and crystallizes), and yet Special Energol Visco-Static has all the 'body' necessary to provide proper lubrication for engines running at boiling point (212°F) temperature and above.

And so it is that the A.N.A.R.E. Weasels are now being lubricated by Special Energol Visco-Static, the only four-grades-in-one motor oil that is 'never too thick, never too thin'.

This unique property of being 'never too thick, never too thin' makes Special ENERGOL Visco-Static today's outstanding Motor Oil — equally suitable for use in extremes of cold in the Australian Alps, or the very high summer temperatures experienced in Central Australia and Northern Australia. Wherever they operate, Australian motorists — particularly new car owners — will derive great benefit from its use.

In the long run and under the widest range of operating conditions — Special Energol VISCO-STATIC Motor Oil — saves so much more than the extra it costs.

Obtainable where you see these pumps

Special ENERGOL VISCO-STATIC MOTOR OIL
SAVES SO MUCH MORE THAN THE EXTRA IT COSTS

THE COMMONWEALTH OIL REFINERIES LTD., an associate of The British Petroleum Company Ltd.

Figure 5.4: Visco-Static Motor Oil advertisement, 1956
(Source: Wheels: Australia's Motor Magazine, March 1956)

Like Antarctica, Australia is a continent of extremes. “The Men of Mawson” advertisement is aimed at an Australian audience, and assumes the viewer has prior knowledge about both ANARE, and the country’s previous links to Antarctica. Douglas Mawson was (and still is) a well-known figure in Australia, and it was for him that Mawson Station – the first post-war Australian building in Antarctica, built in 1954 – was named. In 1956 the station was still very new, and therefore any mention carried novelty value. ANARE was also underway, so there was domestic interest in the topic, and this was intensified by public interest in the scientific activities undertaken by Australia in the lead up to the International Polar Year (1957–58). The advertisement coincided with coverage of the upcoming internationally coordinated event, but called upon very Australian links to the Antarctic in order to market the oil. This Australian link is visually reinforced by the fact the men are depicted beneath a fluttering Australian flag positioned at top centre, while the advertisement text also bridges the gap between Australia and Antarctica by announcing that the oil advertised is “equally suitable for use in extremes of cold in the Australian Alps, or the very high summer temperatures experienced in Central Australia and Northern Australia.” The advertisement appeals to the domestic Australian market by harnessing two narratives of Antarctica – those of the explorer Mawson, and the ANARE expeditioners at Mawson Station – and translating extreme performance into the domestic Australian context.

Volkswagen Beetle Becomes “First at the Bottom of the World”

During the 1960s a Volkswagen campaign ran in Australia under the headline “The first car at the bottom of the world” (Figure 5.5). This series of advertisements highlights several elements of the extremity theme; first, there is the fact that an Antarctic first was – and still is – worthy of media attention, even many decades after Scott and Amundsen first reached the geographic South Pole. This attention can in turn be translated into high-profile advertising. In 1963 a Volkswagen Beetle was taken south to Australia’s Mawson station, becoming

“the first production car in the Antarctic.”⁶¹⁵ The car, which was dubbed “Antarctica 1” by VW, and “The Red Terror” by local scientists,⁶¹⁶ spent one year at Mawson, before being returned to VW Australia and used for publicity purposes.⁶¹⁷ The iconic vehicle toured around Australia, and advertisements featuring the car appeared in the pages of newspapers and magazines such as *Life* and *Women’s Weekly*. One such advertisement includes a photograph of the polar beetle heading off towards an icy horizon along with the caption “First car in Antarctica.” (Figure 5.6) As I have argued elsewhere, this particular example “neatly captured the idea of a vehicle going where none had gone before.”⁶¹⁸ Here, ideas of precedence meet with those of toughness: “man vs. wild becomes machine vs. wild, and the fact that the machine triumphs over the ice becomes a prime selling point.”⁶¹⁹ (This is despite the fact that the Australian target consumers were regularly driving in conditions a good 50 degrees warmer.) The in-house *VWA Magazine* explained in June 1963 how “Antarctica proves once again the known Volkswagen reputation for quality, reliability, and durability.”⁶²⁰ Extremity is key here; given that extreme machinery is needed in an extreme environment, VW used an Antarctic theme across all advertising platforms in order to “bring home the point that the Volkswagen is, of course, the only car that can handle Antarctica.”⁶²¹ The VW was not the first car in Antarctica at all – other motor vehicles to have been taken south included Shackleton’s Arrol Johnston Motor Car (1907) and Wilkins’ Baby Austin (1927) – but because VW was the first to publicly claim this honour in an advertising campaign, the accolade has stuck.⁶²²

⁶¹⁵ Long and Matthew, *Knowing Australian Volkswagens*, 68.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 76. Discussed in Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 192.

⁶¹⁸ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 192.

⁶¹⁹ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 192.

⁶²⁰ “Advertising Campaign,” *VWA Review*, 7.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶²² For more on the story of Antarctica and VW, see Matthews, “The Antarctic VWs” and Long and Matthews, *Knowing Australian Volkswagens*.



Figure 5.5: Advertisement announcing VW as “The first car at the bottom of the world,” 1965 (Source: LIFE, 15 January 1965, 25)

At the time these advertisements appeared, any negative connotations of a car (and therefore pollution) intruding into the pristine wilderness of Antarctica were not widespread. Even today, “television car ads often work by showing speeding cars in pristine natural landscape – pristine because devoid of other cars and their polluting results.”⁶²³ Those that show icy backgrounds, however, are in for more scrutiny these days, in the age of the Anthropocene, when the human contributions to climate change are better understood than ever. The 2015 Volkswagen emissions scandal⁶²⁴ that erupted when it became apparent that CO₂ emissions from general vehicle use differed to the emissions measured in official tests is an example of the high-profile nature of any environmental damage by corporations – direct or indirect. In an era where environmental protection is paramount, the contemporary juxtaposition of machinery with an Antarctic landscape does carry echoes of the extremity theme, but can also evoke

⁶²³ Branston and Stafford, *The Media Student Book*, 381.

⁶²⁴ Hotten, “Volkswagen.”

a different response, bringing environmental questions to the fore. This accounts in part for the gradual diminishment of these kinds of advertisements after the environmental movement began (as discussed in Chapter 6).



*Figure 5.6: Advertisement labelling VW as “The first car in Antarctica,” 1967
(Source: Australian Women’s Weekly, 10 July 1967, 37)*

Antarctic advertisements do not necessarily need to include images taken down south – in many instances the language used (such as “bottom of the world”) is enough to place the image’s supposed location. This is particularly true in the twenty-first century, when stock images mean polar scenes are only ever a mouse click away. The use of north polar scenes to stand in for the south has a long history, however: the most circulated images of Amundsen after his return from the South Pole depicted him not in the Antarctic, but posed for publicity purposes in a fjord near his home outside Oslo. A similar geographic shift is also present in the 1960s VW campaign: the original Antarctic scenes that first appeared in right-hand drive Australian VW advertisements were later recreated in the Arctic, to provide imagery for advertisements in the left-hand drive

context of the United States (Figure 5.7). These advertisements also ran under the tagline “first car at the bottom of the world,”⁶²⁵ alluding to the Antarctic VW, and made no mention of the fact the photographs were staged. Indeed, it is minor details such as the orientation of the roof racks that give away the fact that the car in the US adverts is not the same vehicle as that used both in the Antarctic and the Australian adverts (Phil Matthews, pers. comm).⁶²⁶ Nevertheless, these versions had widespread penetration across the US, illustrated by a passage in Long and Matthew’s *Knowing Australian Volkswagens*:

In 1969, when a party of American scientists first visited the Australians at Mawson, they admitted to their hosts that, but for the international Antarctic VW publicity, they would not have known Australia maintained a scientific base there.⁶²⁷

This anecdote underlines the powerful role advertisements can play in raising public consciousness about both Antarctica and the various activities that are undertaken upon the continent – even when the images shown are not from the continent at all.



Figure 5.7: US version of VW advertisement announcing VW as “First on the bottom!” (Source: Orlove, “This Was the First Car in Antarctica”)

⁶²⁵ Volkswagen advertisement, “The First Car at the Bottom.”

⁶²⁶ Matthews (Editor at the Volkswagen Club in Sydney), pers. comm, 29 July 2015.

⁶²⁷ Long and Matthews, *Knowing Australian Volkswagens*, 77.

Vehicles have played an important role in making Antarctica accessible for humans, but there are also other types of smaller-scale technologies that have assisted with exploration. Appliances such as typewriters (A1911b, A1912e) and sewing machines (Figure 2.2) have made domestic life easier for early explorers, and their ability to withstand the cold of the south has proved a lucrative marketing strategy (see Chapter 1 for a discussion of the Singer Sewing Machine advertisement from 1912). Out in the field, the likes of binoculars, radios, and voice recorders (A1956a) have helped expeditioners to record data, and to uncover – and disseminate – new information about the continent itself. The makers of such products are often eager to capitalise on this Antarctic connection, as Byrd’s appearance in advertisements for Carol Zeiss binoculars (AXk), and the General Electric All-Wave Radio (A1935o) can attest. Watches are of particular interest in the far south, both for their practical use and for advertising purposes. The following section details a small fraction of the watch advertisements that have drawn upon their polar connections, and argues that the links between ice, time, extremity and Antarctica go far deeper than any explorer’s simple desire to know the hour.

Freezing Time: Watches and Extreme Environments

Antarctica is often described as a timeless place,⁶²⁸ where the history of the planet remains ‘frozen.’ Recent drilling missions such as the Australian Aurora Basin drilling project⁶²⁹ have shown how the thousands of years of ice layers in the Antarctic hold traces of past atmosphere, and can act as an archive of the past. In a tale that would be at home inside the pages of science fiction novel, tardigrades from Antarctica have defied time by thawing and coming back to life after having been frozen for over 30 years.⁶³⁰ On the personal level, time can take on a different dimension for those who find themselves in the Antarctic. Leane

⁶²⁸ Griffiths, *Slicing the Silence*, 18.

⁶²⁹ Australian Antarctic Division. “Aurora Basin.”

⁶³⁰ Tsujimoto, Imura and Kanda, “Recovery and Reproduction of an Antarctic Tardigrade,” 78.

has written about how the unique spatiality of Antarctica, and “its isolation, its position on the ‘bottom’ of the world, its seemingly limitless icescape – produces a complex and contradictory temporality.”⁶³¹ As an accurate clock is needed in order to correctly ascertain longitude, losing track of time can also result in losing track of space when out on the vast polar plateau. Phenomena like white out and twenty-four-hour daylight can make it difficult to keep track of time, and there are many reported cases of insomnia or changes in circadian rhythms.⁶³² Under these conditions, it is particularly important to be able to tell the time accurately, and there has been no shortage of watch manufacturers eager to see their brand ticking through seconds and days amongst the snows of the south. Watch advertisements regularly feature imagery of extreme environments such as alpine summits, and activities such as deep-sea diving, flying, and polar exploration. In many cases, watch manufacturers seek a link with the polar regions because of their associations with extremity, heroism and masculinity. A 1957 advertisement for the Croton Nivada Grenchen “Antarctic” watch leverages its south polar links, with the headline reading “This is the watch that went to the Antarctic” (Figure 5.8). The watch itself is pictured on the right-hand side, while the left half of the advertisement is dominated by an image of a bearded man, in polar clothing, lighting a cigarette with his watch-adorned right hand. The advertisement copy goes on to specify that its Antarctic link came through Admiral Byrd and *Operation Deepfreeze*, and to describe how the watch was

snowed on, rained on, sleeted on. It was never wound. It was dropped, hit and knocked against ice. It lived in zig-zagging temperatures – from 100 above to 40 below. *And it never lost a second.*

This is a classic case of a product being advertised through the ‘as used in Antarctica’ trope; the extreme nature of the Antarctic environment is invoked as an ultimate testing ground, and the fact that the watch continued to tell the time correctly throughout the expedition is used as a testimonial to its quality.

⁶³¹ Leane, “The Land that Time Forgot,” 199.

⁶³² Steel, “Extreme and Unusual,” 368.

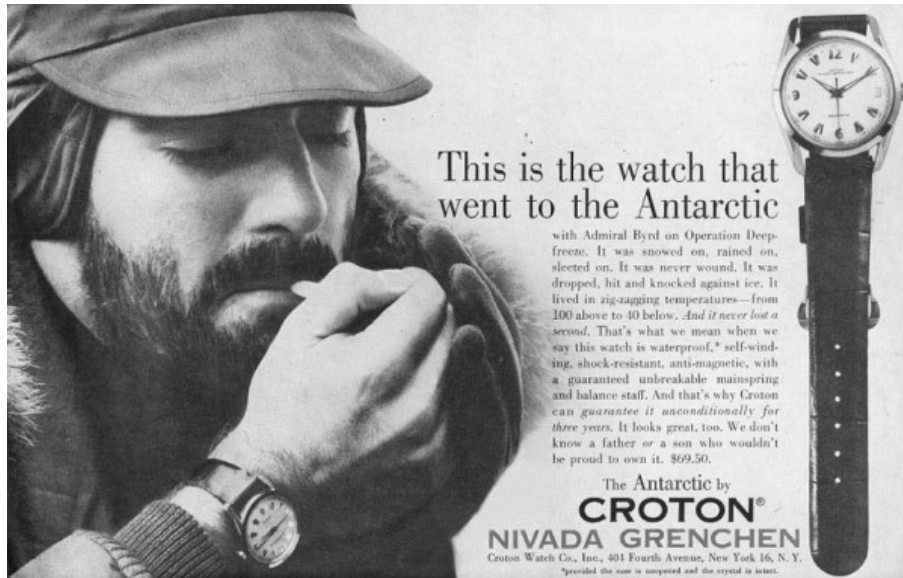


Figure 5.8: Croton Nivada Grenchen watch “that went to the Antarctic,” 1957

(Source: The New York Times, June 8 1957, 10)

The Croton advertisement associates the watch with the Antarctic and masculinity, thanks to the image of the bearded explorer, and the language used. The text concludes with the assertion “We don’t know a father or son who wouldn’t be proud to own it.” Watches often become family heirlooms, passed down the paternal line from father to son. This advertisement is selling not just a watch, then, but a way to maintain the patriarchal *status quo* by continuing such a tradition. It also offers the promise of a particular image – one characterised by toughness and resilience. The ‘Antarctic’ watch becomes a badge of manhood, thanks to its associations with Antarctic exploration, and its performance in the extreme conditions of the south polar region. Those who purchase the timepiece are not only buying a watch, they are also buying into a mythology of masculinity and extremity, typified by the bearded expeditioner, and cemented by the product’s Antarctic name and links.

SEPTEMBER IN ANTARCTICA AND THE DOME TENTS ARE BURIED IN DRIFTING SNOW. THE ONLY COLDER MONTH IS AUGUST.

Where to spend the worst winter in the world.

Brabant Island doesn't invite visitors. An inhospitable and violent terrain off the Antarctic Peninsula, it has been largely avoided by man since the first recorded landing there in 1898.

For all its harshness, Commander Chris Furse felt drawn to this wild and desolate place. Crazier still, he intended to spend more than a year there – including a winter in tents and snow holes. It was to be the first-ever overwintering in the Antarctic without a hut for living quarters. Why?

First, the scientific reason. Overwintering would enable Chris Furse and his team to investigate the annual cycles in the island's meteorology and in its plant, animal and bird life. Lack of a base hut would provide physiological data on man's ability (or otherwise) to survive an Antarctic winter under constant threat from dehydration, frost-bite and hypothermia. For man, as Chris had always to remember, is a tropical animal.

Behind the scientific curiosity was a dream. Commander Furse says, "The White Continent has always been a dream of mine." His introduction to it in 1970 was not a disappointment. "I was enthralled by the beauty, the power, the isolation."

For the team that landed on Brabant Island in January 1984 "the initial impetus was adventure – to set the first footprint on some remote mountain. We were fulfilling a desire to set man against nature at its very worst."

As north-easterly blizzards obliterated their base camp, as the bottom dropped out of the thermometer, as 3,000-tonne icebergs spun on the heaving sea like toys, the men felt reduced to insignificance: tiny witnesses of a world of ice, waiting for life's first start.

At the end they knew that they had achieved more than survival. "The attraction," Chris Furse maintains, "was discovering the unknown, discovering oneself and close companionship in hardship and danger – all surrounded by the magic and romance of the last continent."

Commander Furse is not such a romantic that he would tackle the Antarctic without minute attention to equipment. Three years were spent preparing for this expedition. But there was never any doubt that his chosen watch would be one that he knew he could depend on utterly: his Rolex Explorer II. "We didn't have an external time-check for nine months," he says. "And we didn't need one."

TED ATKINS, THE EXPEDITION'S VEHICLE TECHNICIAN, GETTING A SKIDOO FROM THE 'GARAGE'.

BRABANT ISLAND, OFF THE ANTARCTIC PENINSULA.

THE ROLEX EXPLORER II CHRONOMETER. AVAILABLE IN STAINLESS STEEL WITH WHITE OR BLACK DIAL.

Figure 5.9: Rolex "Where to spend the worst winter in the world," 1987
(Source: National Geographic Magazine, September 1987, Vol 172, No 3)

The luxury watch brand Rolex is another company that has a long association with the polar regions and other extreme expeditions. A Rolex timepiece accompanied Hillary to the summit of Mt Everest in 1953,⁶³³ and modern day watches have travelled to both the South and North Poles with the likes of Erling Kagge (A1997b, A1998a, A1999a, A2000e, A2006f),⁶³⁴ Rune Gjeldnes

⁶³³ "Everest Leader's Tribute to Rolex" appeared in Punch Magazine on November 17 1954.

⁶³⁴ The text of A1997b reads "To the ends of the earth and the top of the world. Only two of us have made it." Kagge appears in several Rolex advertisements in the *National Geographic* magazine (June 1997 Vol 191 No 6, March 1998, June 1999, March 2000, and April 2006).

(A2006e),⁶³⁵ and Alain Hubert (A2004b). Associated advertisements, such as the 1987 *National Geographic Magazine* full-page spread “Where to spend the worst winter in the world” (Figure 5.9) call upon both the extremity of the polar conditions encountered and the tough nature of the men who triumphed under those conditions in order to craft a similar image for the Rolex watches. Such advertisements employ words like “impossible,” “rugged” and “explorer,” and the language is complemented by images of ice, and of lone figures man-hauling sleds across crevasses or white expanses. This imagery in Figure 5.9 immediately evokes the Heroic Era narratives discussed in the previous chapter – as does the advertisement’s title, which refers to Apsley Cherry-Garrard’s account *The Worst Journey in the World* (1922). Rather than focus solely on man versus nature, however, this example sees the battle between the technologically advanced chronometer and the extreme conditions of the Antarctic take centre stage. The advertorial style layout adds weight to Rolex’s Antarctic connection, while the inset map adds a scientific air to the promotional piece. Antarctic tropes are employed in order to weave a mythology around the Rolex product, and imbue the brand name with similar qualities to those associated with explorers who traverse the unexplored ice of Antarctica: extremity, toughness, hardship, reliability, and survival.

Surviving the Ice: Clothing and Shelter

With monthly mean temperatures falling below -60°C in winter in the continent’s interior,⁶³⁶ cold weather is a key challenge that must be overcome in order to ensure survival in Antarctica. The presence of a building, or provision of appropriate attire, can easily mean the difference between life and death. There are many straightforward examples of clothing and building products that have been used in Antarctica and subsequently marketed as being hardy. From jackets to tents to insulation and fibreboard, these follow a similar narrative to the

⁶³⁵ Accompanying text reads “If there wasn’t an official Polar Grand Slam, there is now” *National Geographic*, May 2006.

⁶³⁶ British Antarctic Survey, “Temperatures.”

vehicles and oils in the previous section. In other cases, companies have created either a physical or a symbolic link with Antarctica because of the continent's extreme connotations. No matter whether a product's initial Antarctic link is physical or conceptual, the fact remains that in a sub-zero context, extremities must be protected. This section examines examples of building materials and clothing that have been used in Antarctica and subsequently appeared in advertisements back home. It argues that a product's presence in Antarctica can serve as testimony to its extreme credentials, and provides examples drawn from a range of time periods, where this has been the case.

From Homasote to Holland's: Construction in Antarctica

A 1935 advertisement for Homasote "all-weather all-purpose building board" (Figure 5.10) used its presence in Antarctica during Admiral Byrd's first and second Antarctic expeditions to highlight the tough nature of the material. The headline "And after six years" leads into a paragraph about Byrd returning to Little America on his second expedition, where he "broke thru the ice and snow and found his former houses as good as the day they were built." The advertisement is pinned on the claim that "Homasote withstands the most extreme weather conditions, high winds and hard rains." Three images in the top half of the advertisement – one of men excavating snow from around old structures, and the other two of buildings in the Antarctic – visually support the narrative of returning, and of toughness in the face of extreme conditions. Such connections to Byrd and the Antarctic are still used by the Homasote company today; the company's website includes a copy of a 1947 letter from Radio Engineer Amory H Waite Jr, who exclaimed "when other wallboards would have pulped, cracked or dissolved, Homasote remained firm and trustworthy insulation against blizzards and temperatures of minus 75!"⁶³⁷ The ability to withstand polar conditions is an accolade that continues to carry weight and capture imaginations.

⁶³⁷ Homasote, "About Homasote."



Figure 5.10: Homasote advertisement, 1935

(Source: The Romance of Antarctic Adventure, 1935)

Antarctica has become more accessible over the intervening 80 years, and technology has advanced considerably, but the need for structures for human habitation remains. For the companies who construct such buildings, mention of the Antarctic can be a point of interest for stakeholders, employees, and the public alike. In August 2015 the Hillary Field Centre, located at New Zealand's Scott Base on Ross Island, was the focus of a one-page promotional piece that appeared in the Firth Industries New Zealand staff newsletter under the headline "Holland's solve the problem in Antarctica" (Figure 5.11). The full-page advertisement – targeted specifically at internal staff members – aimed to showcase the company's work in the unusual and difficult conditions of the Antarctic, and included a large colour image of "pavers being laid in the hangar – quite the task at -40 degrees." Much is made of the low temperatures throughout

the text, with the opening line explaining “construction in temperatures of -40 degrees is never easy.” In preparation for the polar conditions, “sands were kiln dried to provide the lowest moisture content possible.” This process also had the effect of sterilising the sand, “therefore protecting the Antarctic environment” (Figure 5.11). Unlike the earlier advertisements for building materials that focussed solely on the tough and technologically advanced nature of the product, this example also mentions environmental impacts; indeed, the rhetoric of extremity and that of protection are presented hand-in-hand. The ability to complete a refit of the Hillary Field Centre in -40 degree temperatures, and without causing harm to the surrounding environment, becomes a triumph of logistics that speaks to the ability of the contracting company to find solutions to extremely difficult problems.

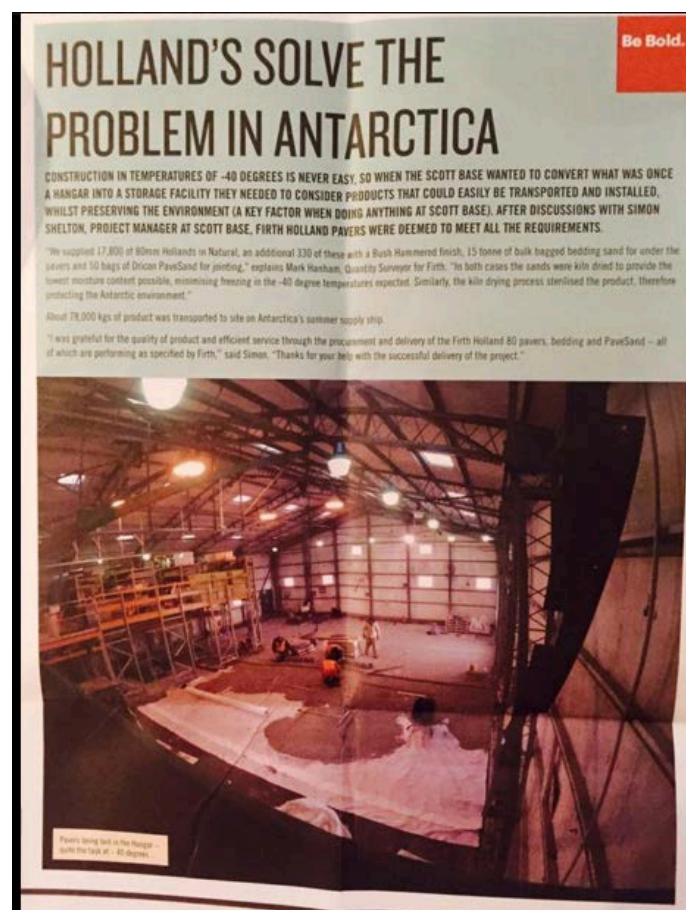


Figure 5.11: Holland's advertisement, 2015 (Source: Firth Industries New Zealand Staff Newsletter, August 2015)

Showcasing Clothing's Credentials: Earth Sea Sky and North Face

New Zealand has a long history of involvement in Antarctic expeditions, thanks to its location directly north of the much-explored Ross Sea region. A number of local companies have used such links in domestic advertising campaigns. The Christchurch-based clothing company Earth Sea Sky, which has drawn upon both past and present Antarctic connections in order to raise the profile of the brand, is one example. The company was started in 1990 by David Ellis, whose father Murray Ellis was a member of the 1957–58 *Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, in the party led by Sir Edmund Hillary,⁶³⁸ and Earth Sea Sky has drawn upon its historical connections to Antarctic exploration in several advertising campaigns. These include a full-page advertisement from 1997 that features Hillary (A1997a), a 2014 display-stand image profiling “56 years hands on experience,” (Figure 5.12) and a 2014 in-store poster under the header “we’ve got history” (A2015l). In this case, the use of an Antarctic narrative serves to back up the company’s tagline: “Made in New Zealand to perform in Extremes.” The link with Hillary – a well-known explorer ‘hero’ in New Zealand – makes this advertisement similar to earlier examples of endorsements, but the company’s association with Antarctica is not only a thing of the past.

Earth Sea Sky has more recent links to the southern continent, as it has been the official clothing supplier for the New Zealand’s National Antarctic Programme since 2009.⁶³⁹ A 2014 poster, displayed in store and at the Antarctica New Zealand conference highlights this connection. Assertions in the text showcase the brand’s track record in the far south, and call strongly upon Antarctica’s associations with extremity: the advertisement opens with the line “From years of experience we have found there is no better place in the world to test outdoor clothing than the frozen lands of Antarctica” (Figure 5.13). That a National Antarctic Programme chooses this clothing is used here as an endorsement of

⁶³⁸ David Ellis’s grandfather, Roland Murray, began the family’s association with the manufacture of cold weather equipment when he started to make down-filled sleeping bags in 1927.

⁶³⁹ Upon being awarded the contract, managing director David Ellis was quoted in an Antarctica New Zealand press release (27 February 2009) as saying “Our family has been involved in supplying polar clothing and equipment to Antarctica New Zealand for the past 50 years. Having the opportunity to continue the association is a great honour for us.”

quality. This is an example of the modern-day scientist taking on the role of the Heroic Era explorer, but rather than a single celebrity providing an endorsement, it is Antarctica New Zealand's decision to use the brand that speaks to the quality. This Earth Sea Sky advertisement closes with the line "The new Antarctica New Zealand wardrobe is at the cutting edge of Extreme Cold Weather (ECW) clothing design." The familiar implication is that if the clothing stands up to the Antarctic conditions encountered during Antarctica New Zealand's expeditions, it will be more than capable of performing well in all other circumstances.



Figure 5.12 (left) and Figure 5.13 (right): Earth Sea Sky banners, 2014
 (Source: Earth Sea Sky Facebook Page, 27 August 2014)

While companies like Earth Sea Sky and Homasote called upon existing Antarctic connections in order to market their products, other brands have forged an association with the continent precisely because of its evocation of all things

extreme. In late 2012, clothing manufacturer The North Face sought to create a connection between the new Steep Series clothing line and Antarctica for this very reason.⁶⁴⁰ In preparation for the product launch, the company sponsored a month-long expedition (21 November – 21 December 2012)⁶⁴¹ to the Antarctic in which snowboarders Xavier de La Rue and Lucas Debari took to the slopes of the Antarctic Peninsula. Their exploits were extensively filmed (for the *Mission Antarctica* movie, which was sponsored by The North Face and Swatch) and photographed (for use in The North Face's Fall 2013 advertising campaign). The final 2013 campaign featured a series of images of extreme snow sports, with athletes pictured in both Alaska and Antarctica. In the example examined here, de La Rue is shown hurtling down glacial faces in Antarctica⁶⁴² (Figure 5.14). Dwarfed by the wall of ice, the diminutive de La Rue is positioned three quarters of the way across the advertisement, and stands out only because of his yellow trousers. These echo both the yellow in the Steep Series jacket that is pictured on the left of the advertisement, and the yellow tagline "never stop exploring."⁶⁴³ The sport of snowboarding may be a far cry from the man-hauling ski marathons of 100 years earlier, but the idea of attaining a 'first' still holds allure, particularly in the Antarctic context. All three advertisements boldly urge viewers to "conquer the unknown" (with the help of The North Face technical gear, of course).

⁶⁴⁰ North Face also sells a parka called the "McMurdo," named for the largest US base in Antarctica (A2014j).

⁶⁴¹ Never Stop Exploring, "Mission Antarctic."

⁶⁴² All three advertisements have the same layout, with a product foregrounded on the left hand side, an athlete shown dwarfed by surrounding ice on the right, and the caption "Conquer the Unknown. Never Stop Exploring."

⁶⁴³ Alternative versions ran the tagline "built for the pursuit."



*Figure 5.14: North Face “Conquer the Unknown” advertisement, 2013
(Source: Repo, “Great Memories”)*

The story behind this North Face advertisement is just as important – if not more so – than the final image that was used in the advertising campaign. Travelling to the ends of the earth to partake in the extreme sport of snowboarding under the most extreme conditions is one way of creating a narrative association between a brand and the ideas of toughness and extremity. It also offered a way to engage potential customers, as the expedition blog was hosted by The North Face and regular updates and images from the Antarctic were posted under the company’s branding.⁶⁴⁴ The theme of extremity also comes through in the advertisement’s (very minimal) text: the line of clothing was dubbed the “All new steep series. Trusted technical gear for extreme mountain riding.” Nestled in the bottom right hand corner, beneath The North Face logo and Steep Series stamp, the fine print reads: “Extreme can’t be tested in a lab. That’s why the roughest possible conditions of Antarctica were necessary to perfect technology in the sickline jacket.”⁶⁴⁵ Antarctica is understood to offer the epitome of cold, icy, dangerous, and extreme conditions. Only extreme athletes can manage such conditions, but

⁶⁴⁴ Never Stop Exploring, “Mission Antarctic.”

⁶⁴⁵ In the two Alaska examples, “Antarctica” is replaced with “Alaska.”

– as the advertisement makes clear, thanks to the foregrounding of a technical jacket – they did so with the support of ‘trusted technical gear.’ What is for sale is that gear, but also, implicitly, de La Rue’s narrative of adventure, extremity, and exploration. By purchasing a Summit Series item, then, one is also buying into a mythology of extremes, and of going where no one has gone before.

Continent Number 7: Collecting the Set

Antarctica’s remoteness and inhospitable climate make it a difficult place to reach, and put it out of the grasp of most. For those who have the time, means and desire to travel to Antarctica, however, the opportunity exists to visit the seventh continent and ‘collect the set’ (of continents visited). After Africa, Asia, Australia, North and South America, and Europe, Antarctica is all that remains. The phenomenon of Antarctic tourism is examined in more detail in Chapter 7, but the desire to create a tangible association with the far-flung reaches of the world has manifested itself in other, more unexpected ways. In 1961 Abbott, manufacturers of Pentothal anaesthetic, expanded their global postcard campaign to the Antarctic.⁶⁴⁶ Having decided that the Australian Wilkes Station represented an exotic destination from which to advertise the worldwide availability of their drug, the company addressed 280,000 postcards⁶⁴⁷ to doctors around the world, and sent them south on the ship *Magga Dan* to be cancelled at the Antarctic station. One side featured a photograph of the station (Figure 5.15), while the other (Figure 5.16) explained that “doctors here demand – and get – the utmost in dependability and safety in their medical supplies” (including, of course, Pentothal). The idea behind the campaign was to “send cards from faraway romantic places, to reinforce idea that Pentothal was the world’s best intravenous anesthetic (sic).”⁶⁴⁸ Antarctica was an ideal location

⁶⁴⁶ Lai, *Pentothal Postcards*, 3. Other drug companies to use such promotional postcard campaigns include Sudafed for allergies, Festal for digestive discomfort, and Marezine for motion sickness.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 8. While the postcards may seem innocuous on a smaller scale, the large workload they created (280,000 of 286,000 items mailed from Wilkes that year) resulted in mailing restrictions being put in place from Australian Antarctic stations.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., 6.

from which to send such postcards because it was both remote and unexpected – the presence of Pentothal on the continent created an association that made the brand name worth remembering. The postcards have since become collectibles, with David Lai's 2005 collection of *Pentothal Postcards* showcasing the range of exotic locations where Pentothal was available. This collection puts Antarctic alongside places such as of Copenhagen, Kuala Lumpur, and Punta Arenas, drawing it into a global world of commerce in a surprising way.



Figure 5.15: "Wilkes Station" Pentothal Postcard front and Figure 5.16 Pentothal Postcard back, with message, 1961 (Source: Lai, *Pentothal Postcards*, 187–188)

The following section takes the notion of Antarctica as ‘the last continent’ and examines how it has been used to market events and concepts, rather than commercial products. Each year there are expeditions that head south specifically with the goal of summiting Vincent Massif, the tallest mountain in Antarctica, to allow climbers to join the ‘7 summits’ club.⁶⁴⁹ For those who prefer long distance running, there is always the option of joining the ‘7 continents marathon club’ by running a race south of the Antarctic Circle;⁶⁵⁰ in the 2015/16 season 207 tourists travelled to Bellingshausen Station on the Antarctic Peninsula for this purpose.⁶⁵¹ Around the fringes of the continent, it is not uncommon to see Antarctic tourists posing for photographs in front of a hand-made sign bearing the number 7. For many adventurous world travellers – particularly those involved in extreme sports – the prospect of climbing, running, camping, skiing, or even just setting foot upon the Antarctic continent continues to hold allure.

Metallica, Antarctica, and Coca-Cola Zero

It is not only individual tourists that are drawn in by the call of Antarctica as the seventh and final continent; on 8 December 2013, Metallica became the first band to perform on all seven continents within a year. The Antarctic concert, entitled Freeze ‘Em All, took place in a heliport at the Argentinian Carlini base on King George Island, and was attended by a select audience of 120 revellers.⁶⁵² The Metallica tour to Antarctica links to the theme of extremity, with the band collecting a full set of continents – the musicians sought to be “the first and only band in history to perform concerts on all seven continents in under a year!”⁶⁵³ The performance also speaks to the theme of fragility, because in order to

⁶⁴⁹ The goal is to climb the highest mountain on every continent. As of 2017, operators include <http://7summits.com/expeditions.php>; <http://climbingthesevensummits.com/seven-summits/the-mountains/vinson-massif/>; <http://www.mountainguides.com/vinson.shtml>

⁶⁵⁰ Global Running Adventures, “Antarctic Ice Marathon & 100k.”

⁶⁵¹ International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators, “2015–2016 Number of Tourist Visits per Site and per Activity.”

⁶⁵² Coca-Cola Company, “Cool Concert.” Coke Zero also donated new laboratory equipment to Carlini Base, “which focuses on scientific investigations and international cooperation.”

⁶⁵³ MetallicaTV, “Metallica - Freeze ‘Em All.”

achieve the band's aim, it was necessary to travel to Antarctica before it became politically unpopular to do so on account of the human impact. An awareness of this element is demonstrated by the band's use of solar panels during the performance as an eco-friendly gesture. Concertgoers also wore silent disco-style earphones in order to create minimal disturbances for the wildlife,⁶⁵⁴ including nesting penguins. A 180-page Environmental Impact Assessment was also carried out prior to the concert.⁶⁵⁵ In this example, the extreme environment calls for extreme preparation measures.



*Figure 5.17: Metallica banner including Coca-Cola Zero Logo, 2013
(Source: Concerts Metal, "Metallica @ Antarctica")*

The idea of striving to have zero impact on the Antarctic environment was reinforced by the brand of the main sponsor – Coke Zero (Figure 5.17). The concert was known as the "Musicá Zero" project, while promotional images depicted the iconic Metallica brand name superimposed over an icy scene, with the Coca-Cola Zero logo in the bottom centre. In this instance, the zero refers to a particular line of Coca-Cola product, containing zero sugar.⁶⁵⁶ In the context of

⁶⁵⁴ Oceanwide Expeditions, "Editorial Press Release."

⁶⁵⁵ The Initial Environmental Evaluation was lodged by eneAmbiental Consultoría in October 2013, and is available (in Spanish) via the Antarctic Treaty System website. eneAmbiental Consultoría. "Evaluación Medioambiental Inicial."

⁶⁵⁶ Coca-Cola, "What's the Difference?"

the polar imagery, however, the word 'zero' also elicits associations with cold temperatures and frozen ice. Partnering the Coke Zero brand with the Metallica concert was therefore a carefully considered decision, carrying connotations of zero temperatures, zero sugar, zero impact, and zero precedent.

While Metallica fans were enjoying the band's southernmost concert, Oceanwide – the company that carried that audience south on board the *Ortelius* – was busy highlighting the positive implications of the tour. Oceanwide's CEO Michel van Gessel spoke of the concert as "a fantastic opportunity to create awareness for Antarctica as one of the very last, pristine wildernesses on our planet."⁶⁵⁷ Employing the protection-through-knowledge rhetoric of many tourism providers, he claimed that the concert would "promote the uniqueness of the Polar Regions and Metallica and their fans will become ambassadors of Antarctica."⁶⁵⁸ The view that tourism creates ambassadors for a place, and that "operators can educate tourists regarding issues important to the conservation of Antarctica" is widespread throughout the tourism industry. Indeed, the International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO) lists creating "a corps of ambassadors for the continued protection of Antarctica by offering the opportunity to experience the continent first hand"⁶⁵⁹ as one of its objectives. Heavy metal music and environmental protection may seem odd bedfellows, but the fact they have come together in this situation reveals much about Antarctica itself. The icy continent is at once a place for education, wildlife, and protection and a place of extremes, where 'firsts' continue to be prized. Antarctica carries numerous symbolic resonances, and can be employed in support of diverse messages and agendas; indeed, it is a place where contradictions thrive.

⁶⁵⁷ Oceanwide Expeditions, "Editorial Press Release."

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators, "Objectives."

Value in Absence: Where Airlines Don't Go

Most people will never travel to Antarctica, but this fact is valuable in its own right. The idea of Antarctica as an absence or a lack has been used to market a range of products over the past 50 years, including several airlines. Alitalia, Pan Am and British Airways⁶⁶⁰ have all invoked Antarctica as the one place they do not go, in order to promote the wide range of destinations they do service. The headline of a 1965 Alitalia advertisement brings this theme to the fore; it takes up the entire top half of the page, and reads “The only continent Alitalia doesn’t fly to” (Figure 5.18). The Antarctic link is created by the accompanying image, which shows a colony of Adelie penguins on the shore, with a background of frozen ice. Penguins function as shorthand for Antarctica, ensuring that the viewer understands which continent is referred to at first glance. For those who read further, the small print under the image makes this link explicit, whilst contrasting the offering of other destinations with the cold, uninhabited, and extreme environment of the far south:

It isn’t that we don’t like Antarctica. But we Italians have always been interested in warmer things. Like good food. Comfort. And travelling in style to far-off places.

The extreme inhospitability of Antarctica is used as a counterpoint to the comfortable, warm experience promised by the airline Alitalia. The target audience of this advertisement are affluent, as the advertisement appeared in *Fortune* magazine. They are expected to want to travel to places like London, New York and Chicago, not to the frozen ends of the earth. As a result, the final line of the advertisement urges the viewer to “Ask your travel agent about Alitalia service, but don’t ask us to take you to Antarctic. It’s too cold” (Figure 5.18).

⁶⁶⁰ British Airways ran a 1990 campaign under the headline “Our apologies to the inhabitants of the one continent we don’t serve” (A1990a).

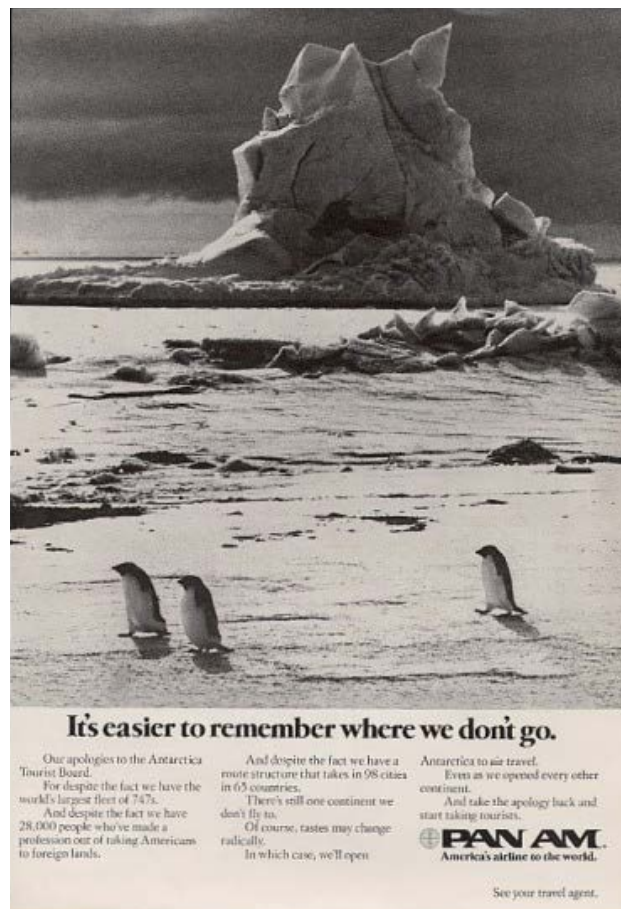


*Figure 5.18: Alitalia advertisement, 1965
(Source: Fortune Magazine August 1965, 121)*

The American airline company Pan Am ran a similar campaign some ten years after the Antarctic-themed Alitalia advertisements first appeared (Figure 5.19). This 1975 example features a remarkably similar image of Adelie penguins against an icy backdrop, taking up three quarters of the page, and carries the tagline “It’s easier to remember where we don’t go.” The campaign ran across television, magazines and newspapers,⁶⁶¹ and was promoted on flights via flight attendants’ badges. Although this advertisement acts in a similar way to the Alitalia example by using Antarctica as the exception to the available routes, and suggesting that the airline does fly everywhere else, the Pan Am advertisement includes commentary on the fluid demands of its customers. The small print begins with a tongue-in-cheek offering of “Our apologies to the Antarctica

⁶⁶¹ Everything Pan Am, “Pan Am Posters.”

Tourist Board” for the fact that there was still one continent to which Pan Am did not fly. It also carries a caveat that “Of course, tastes may change radically. In which case, we’ll open Antarctica to air travel... And take the apology back and start taking tourists.” Antarctic tourism was still in its infancy in 1975 (the launching of the *Lindblad Explorer* in 1969 is seen by many as the start of commercial Antarctic visits) but the inclusion of this statement in the airline’s advertisement indicates a willingness to change routes to suit consumer tastes. Antarctica figures as an absence, but not necessarily a permanent one.



*Figure 5.19: Pan Am advertisement featuring Antarctica as an absence, 1975
(Source: Vintage Ad Browser, “Pan Am Airlines Antarctica”)*

Pan Am’s use of penguins, Antarctica, and the tagline “It’s easier to remember where we don’t go” is somewhat surprising, given that Pan Am was one of the only airlines that *had* actually flown to Antarctica in the past. On October 15,

1957 a Pan Am Boeing 377 Stratocruiser became the first commercial aircraft to fly to the continent⁶⁶² when it landed at McMurdo Station, commissioned by the US Navy as part of a resupply mission.⁶⁶³ Rear Admiral Dufek suggested that the flight could “provide a great PR coup for Pan Am”⁶⁶⁴ thanks to the element of a ‘first.’ It did indeed attract much media attention, not so much because of its status as the first commercial flight, but because of the presence of two female flight attendants on board – the first women ever to visit McMurdo station.⁶⁶⁵ Ruth Kelly and Patricia Hepinstall were on the ice for only a matter of hours, during which time they went for a dog sled ride, enjoyed coffee in the mess, and judged a beard-growing competition (with prizes for longest, blackest, reddest and sexiest),⁶⁶⁶ but their presence was contentious. Prior to the visit, Rear Admiral Dufek had been adamant that any flight attendants would be male,⁶⁶⁷ as Antarctica was at that time a bastion of masculinity – a “he-man’s world, with beards and toughness.”⁶⁶⁸ This framing of the place drew strongly upon the theme of extremity, with the assumption that only the hardest men would be capable of enduring the extreme weather conditions of the far south. The allure of Kelly and Hepinstall lay in the human-interest element of their story, which added novelty to the ‘first.’ In the case of the 1974 Pan Am advertisement, mentioning the Antarctic Pan Am flight would have been a useful tactic if the airline was trying to capitalise on its history of firsts, but in the context of a target audience with no Antarctic experience, highlighting Antarctica as an absence or lack was a way of creating resonance with a much wider audience.

While Antarctic advertisements that emphasise the frames of heroism and extremity usually feature male figures, there are occasional exceptions. A 1959 advertisement for Ray-Ban sunglasses that appeared in the *National Geographic Magazine* (June 1959), during the US *Operation Deepfreeze*⁶⁶⁹ is a prime example

⁶⁶² United States Antarctic Program. “Time Line U.S. Antarctic Moments,” 9.

⁶⁶³ Pan Am Historical Foundation, “Pan-Am Way Down South.”

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ “Air Hostesses To Judge Polar Beards,” 8.

⁶⁶⁶ Pan Am Historical Foundation, “Pan-Am Way Down South.”

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ David Boyer, Dufek’s ghost writer. Quoted in Belanger, *Deepfreeze*.

⁶⁶⁹ The original sunglasses that were used in the Antarctic continue to be valuable – see Vintage Sunglasses Shop. “Ray-Ban.”

(Figure 5.20). The headline gestures both to the tough nature of those sunglasses, and to their desirability beyond *Operation Deepfreeze* itself; it reads “Proved in the Antarctic – smartly styled for you.” In this case, the ‘you’ is represented by a fashionable young woman, dressed in a pink dress and jacket, and horn-rimmed sunglasses. She is photographed against the black and white background of – as the image caption itself explains – an “Antarctic photograph of man wearing Ray-Ban Sun Glasses, courtesy of the United States Navy.” Ray-Ban supplied specially designed sunglasses to the US Navy for the operation, in order to protect men from snow-blindness, but this advertisement adds another layer to the straight ‘as used in Antarctica’ endorsement. Instead, it encourages consumers to adapt new technologies that have been proven in the Antarctic and to use them in their own lives at home: “Ray-Ban Sun Glasses give *your* eyes the same fine glare protection, plus the season’s most fashionable frame styles and colours.” Glare protection is associated with Antarctic extremes – such as the 24-hour daylight experienced on Ross Island during the summer – while the range of fashionable colours and styles are tailored for use back in the US. The female model doesn’t belong *in* Antarctica – at this point, the continent was still being described as a “womanless white continent of peace”⁶⁷⁰ – yet she is shown to benefit from technology that has been tested in the extreme environment, then aesthetically altered for the domestic setting. This advertisement therefore opens the door for the trope of Antarctic extremity to be put to a wider range of uses; no longer is value limited to products with an Antarctic connection, but rather the *notion* of extremity can be evoked to market products that differ from their Antarctic predecessors in both style and design.

⁶⁷⁰ Admiral Reedy, 1968. Quoted in Chipman, *Women on Ice*, 87.



Figure 5.20: Ray-Ban advertisement for sunglasses tested in the Antarctic, 1959
(Source: National Geographic Magazine, 1959)

Antarctic the Extreme: In Summary

The frame of extremity casts Antarctica as the ultimate testing ground, layered with stories of firsts, of superior machinery, and of masculine endeavour. Many advertisements examined have called upon first-hand links with Antarctic expeditions in order to market their products – from watches, to clothing, to building materials. These advertisements are predicated on the assumption that – as North Face puts it – “extreme can’t be tested in a lab” (Figure 5.14). Instead, spending time in the Antarctic lends an authenticity to any product. Consumers do not need a personal link to Antarctica in order to be interested in a product advertised in this way. Indeed, Leiss et al remind readers of *Social*

Communication in Advertising that the “stock-in-trade of advertising is the process of invoking a chain of associations to enchant audiences.”⁶⁷¹ In several cases associations with heroism have been used to supplement – and to grant legitimacy to – that of extremity, with reference made to Heroic Era figures or expeditions. The two ideas are linked, both historically, and through a common tendency to call upon tropes of masculinity. Extremity reframes the idea of man versus wild into one of machine versus wild, however, with cars, oil and sunglasses being used in order for expeditioners to overcome the harsh, cold, windy and dry conditions they come up against on the southern continent. Where any type of machinery has an Antarctic link, the theme of extremity is not far away, and neither is the claim that if a product works in the far southern snows of Antarctica, it will excel under any other circumstances.

This continual drawing on and reinforcement of ideas of extremity has an impact on people’s understanding of Antarctica, as it reprises and legitimates notions of the superlative – highest, driest, coldest, windiest. This framing also cements ideas of Antarctic exceptionalism, where the southern continent is set apart from other global systems. This is particularly apparent in those advertisements that play on the absence idea: the gap between Antarctica and a particular product can be used as a selling point in itself. Highlighting Antarctica as an absence or lack has been employed as a way to create resonance with a much wider audience, but it has also functioned to reinforce ideas of exclusivity (such as the notion that the continent is off limits to women). Extremity is therefore a complex and multi-faceted theme that has manifested itself in a range of ways over the past century. Companies that activate this theme in advertising do so in order to offer their customers the chance to buy into a mythology of extremes; they offer the chance to become a part of boundary-pushing product innovations or – vicariously – record-breaking expeditions, and all from the comfort of their home countries. These advertisements illustrate how it is possible to buy into Antarctic narratives and themes without risking frostbite or heading to the ends of the earth oneself. After all, Antarctica is – as Alitalia put it – “too cold” for that.

⁶⁷¹ Leiss, Kline, Jhally and Botterill, “Social Communication in Advertising,” 163.

Chapter 5 – Pure Antarctica

Where can you find the purest air on earth? According to the Pure Antarctic Air company, the answer is the far south – but thanks to their online store, that purity is only ever one mouse click (and a AU\$615.00 bill) away (Figure 6.1). Between 2016 and 2017 the Australian-registered company⁶⁷² offered for sale the “cleanest bottled air on the world,” sourced from “the one continent never to be settled and ravaged by human occupation.”⁶⁷³ The purity frame examined in this chapter casts Antarctica as an untouched wilderness⁶⁷⁴ – a place without people and machinery, rather than a place to showcase human technologies and innovation. At first glance, this way looking appears to elicit an ecocentric view, seeing humans as one part of a larger ecosystem, but this purported environmental focus is not straightforward. As William Cronin puts it, “wilderness tends to privilege some parts of nature at the expense of others.”⁶⁷⁵ Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Lowell Duckert argue that “to think that the world is ours to ruin or to save are two expressions of the same hubris”⁶⁷⁶ – both views frame humans as the only beings with agency over the future of the planet earth. The purity frame presents Antarctica as a natural place for people to save, but the theme also carries a range of other cultural associations.

⁶⁷² Pure Antarctic Air, “Shop.”

⁶⁷³ Ibid. The short-lived website also carried an environmental message: “Unfortunately, we have reached an era in time where Air is being commoditised. Through our partnerships we hope this campaign can raise awareness about the dangers of such an approach on the future of humanity.” The site aimed to raise awareness about the dangers of air pollution, and the environmental damage it could cause, and used the offer of Antarctic Air as a catalyst for conversation.

⁶⁷⁴ The term “wilderness” and its applications to Antarctica are contested, as demonstrated by the SCAR Antarctic Humanities and Social Sciences Expert Group, “Research Output Summary [ROS] – Wilderness.”

⁶⁷⁵ Cronin, “The Trouble with Wilderness,” 86.

⁶⁷⁶ Cohen and Duckert, “Introduction: Eleven Principles,” 5.



*Figure 6.1: “Pure Antarctic Air” homepage, 2016
(Source: Pure Antarctic Air. www.pureantarcticair.com)*

This chapter outlines the various meanings of the term ‘pure,’ then asks how they have been applied in the Antarctic context. It argues that, if advertising is a good indicator, ideas of purity have pervaded popular discourse about Antarctica through the twentieth century. Case study advertisements ranging from 1933 to 2016 are used to explore how notions of first cleanliness and then purity have been used in advertising material to market products with an Antarctic association. The distinction is important; ‘clean’ suggests a domestic or human context, while ‘pure’ has natural connotations, and is closely linked to the idea of wilderness. Constructing Antarctica as clean or pure also intersects with notions of race, gender, and science, and these implications are explored through case studies. However, different inflections on this idea characterise different parts of the century. The idea of cleanliness is more prevalent in the earlier years of the twentieth century, emerging in several advertisements related to Admiral Byrd’s second expedition, while purity has been used extensively throughout the twenty-first century. Representation also depends on the available technology. Thus, in Byrd’s day, the emphasis was on efficiency in cleaning, but colour photography and computer-generated imagery have allowed the purity theme to be used very easily in a symbolic way. In both cases, the superlatives of the

extremity chapter morph into new forms, as 'cleanest' and 'purest' lay claim to Antarctica's ice and air.

Purity at work: Nature, Wilderness and Protection

The word 'pure' carries a range of meanings – it can be used to denote that something is unmixed, free of contamination or untainted by immorality; to refer to a pedigree; or to describe the study of abstract concepts, rather than practical applications.⁶⁷⁷ In the Western tradition purity is often associated with the colour white, while many religious texts draw associations between purity and the divine.⁶⁷⁸ Robbie Duchinsky writes that "Scientific truth, childhood, femininity, rural spaces, whiteness, intentionality, water, artistic beauty, diamonds, mathematics, moral values, religious belief, virginity, or organic food"⁶⁷⁹ have all been variously described as pure, and therefore play into the "politics of purity."⁶⁸⁰ This range of definitions is matched by a range of ideological uses of the concept: purity has been deployed for sexual, racial, nationalistic, spiritual and environmental ends, amongst others. Indeed, Mary Douglas has argued that "the only thing universalistic about purity is the tendency to use it as a weapon or tool,"⁶⁸¹ or as a way to exclude the other.

In the Antarctic context, concepts of purity are closely linked to science and the discourse of protection. Wenda Bauchspies and colleagues have investigated the notion of purity in relation to science, and assert "labelling something 'science' in essence tends to declare its purity and ignore all the antecedent work that went into its construction."⁶⁸² In reality, not even 'pure science' exists in a cultural vacuum. The term 'pure' and the concept of purity are fraught, and must be examined within the cultural context in which they appear. This is also true in

⁶⁷⁷ Oxford English Dictionary. Online. s.v. "pure."

⁶⁷⁸ Powell et al, *The Advertising Handbook*, 200.

⁶⁷⁹ Duchinsky, "The Politics of Purity," 72.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., 72.

⁶⁸¹ Douglas, "Purity and Danger: Leviticus—a Retrospective" seminar at Clare College, Cambridge, 21 October 1997. Quoted in Duchinsky, "The Politics of Purity," 66.

⁶⁸² Bauchspies, Croissant and Restivo, *Science, Technology, and Society*, 12.

Antarctica. While the continent is often depicted as a *tabula rasa*, it has a complex and often murky human history, including elements of nationalism, exploration, commercialisation, and environmental protection.

One of the problems with applying a purity lens to the natural Antarctic environment is that it brings with it a whole range of cultural associations that are readily activated. The whiteness of Antarctica can easily be co-opted to stand for whiteness elsewhere, thus becoming implicated in global systems of privilege and oppression. Other natural landscapes have been put to similar uses, particularly in advertising material. Sturgeon has written how “the idea of nature as a source of purity and regeneration”⁶⁸³ is reproduced in advertising, and often functions to naturalise problematic “views that underlie many social inequalities: that nature is female, white women are pure, female sexuality is dangerous, [and] women of color are closer to animals”⁶⁸⁴ to name a few. If “Antarctica is a space known vicariously,”⁶⁸⁵ then the pre-existing values and attitudes held by those who imagine the continent become all the more significant.

Purity plays a central role in the discourse around female sexuality and morality, with the traditional white of the western wedding dress used to symbolise the purity of the virgin bride.⁶⁸⁶ The relationship between sexuality, purity, and Antarctica reveals dominant attitudes towards landscape and place. Like many landscapes, Antarctica is often figured as a ‘she.’ In this context, language such as honour and purity is borrowed from the vocabulary usually used to describe women – or, more accurately, to describe men’s actions in relation to those women whom they seek to protect; Leane has written how Antarctica has been characterised in expedition accounts as “an aloof, virginal woman to be won through chivalrous deeds.”⁶⁸⁷ Painting the continent as female was useful for early explorers as they sought to stake a claim to the ‘virgin’ ice; when describing the South Pole in 1911, Amundsen wrote “Beauty is still sleeping, but the kiss is

⁶⁸³ Sturgeon, *Environmentalism in Popular Culture*, 24.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁶⁸⁵ Roberts, “The White (Supremacist) Continent,” 105.

⁶⁸⁶ Ingraham, *White Weddings*. The white dress of the bride came, in Western society, to stand for “purity, virginity, innocence and promise”. *Ibid.*, 60.

⁶⁸⁷ Leane, “Placing Women in the Antarctic Literary Landscape,” 510.

coming, the kiss that shall wake her!”⁶⁸⁸ (Poet Bill Manhire wrote “The Polar Explorer’s Love Song” for “the goddess Hypothermia”⁶⁸⁹ some 100 years later.) The tendency to feminise landscapes is common across Western history. Patricia Price argues that this rendered it “open to the advances of male protagonists,”⁶⁹⁰ so that they may claim and conquer territory. These advances could also be painted as chivalric, “as in ‘saving the honor’ or the ‘purity’ of the land.”⁶⁹¹ This latter idea is one that Price identifies as “still quite prevalent in some conservationist circles,”⁶⁹² – this includes environmental discourse about protection that casts the purity of Antarctica as something to be shielded from human influence. Echoes of arguments about the purity of women are evident in this discourse, which is heavily laden with value judgements that have been formed in the realm of morality, far away from the ice itself.

The idea of purity and its association with Antarctica also has political implications. “Purity/sanctity” has been identified as one of five fundamental domains of human morality,⁶⁹³ and is more strongly associated with those who identify as conservative than those who are liberal. Matthew Feinberg and Robb Willer’s work on “The Moral Roots of Environmental Attitudes” has revealed that many Christian groups, which often stand on the conservative side of politics, “perceive environmental degradation as a desecration of the world God created and a contradiction of moral principles of purity and sanctity.”⁶⁹⁴ As a result, the theme of purity has been used when discussing environmental issues, as a way of finding common ground when parties have very different ideological backgrounds. Terms like ‘polluted,’ ‘contaminated,’ and the need to ‘clean’ or ‘purify’ the environment all have ideological links to the purity theme, and all have been used when discussing environmental issues in the far south.

The purity frame is particularly relevant to discourse around wilderness, which

⁶⁸⁸ Amundsen, *The South Pole*, 194.

⁶⁸⁹ Manhire, “The Polar Explorer’s Love Song.”

⁶⁹⁰ Price, *Dry Place*, 51.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, 51.

⁶⁹³ Feinberg and Willer, “The Moral Roots of Environmental Attitudes,” 57. The others are harm/care, fairness/reciprocity, in-group/loyalty, and authority/respect.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

has been an important topic in Antarctic scholarship in recent years.⁶⁹⁵ Powell et al have argued “in romantic art and literature, purity represents the innocence unscathed by industrialization.”⁶⁹⁶ As Antarctica has such a young human history, this idea of untouched innocence continues to hold particular allure – this is manifested in the designation of Antarctic Specially Protected Areas,⁶⁹⁷ where human activity is severely restricted. Belief in the “purity of wilderness and the impurity of the city”⁶⁹⁸ may still predominate, but it is an idea that has been challenged in past 15 years.⁶⁹⁹ In his influential 1989 essay “The Trouble with Wilderness,” Cronin contended that wilderness “is quite profoundly a human creation,”⁷⁰⁰ and one that has been the preserve of the privileged. In analysing the use of the term in a US context, he drew attention to the way

The myth of the wilderness as ‘virgin,’ uninhabited land had always been especially cruel when seen from the perspective on the Indians who had once called that land home.⁷⁰¹

Antarctica has no native human population, but the implications of language choice continue to have an impact upon how the continent is cast, particularly when it is presented as a pure place, separate from the rest of the world. This is but one example of how “wilderness tends to privilege some parts of nature at the expense of others.”⁷⁰² Nevertheless, the concept continues to hold sway in the popular imagination of the far south, and regularly emerges in advertisements.

Purity is not a natural state, but one that is constructed around a product in order to make it more valuable. Andy Opel has analysed the construction of purity in the US bottled water industry, noting how “to do the work of constructing purity out of an impure world, the corporation enlists myth and image, ancient story forms and the current popularity of nostalgia for the

⁶⁹⁵ For a list of recent publications on the topic, see SCAR Antarctic Humanities and Social Sciences Expert Group, “Research Output Summary [ROS] – Wilderness.”

⁶⁹⁶ Powell et al, *The Advertising Handbook*, 200.

⁶⁹⁷ Secretariat of the Antarctic Treaty, “Area Protection and Management / Monuments.”

⁶⁹⁸ Davison, “Urban Nature and Australian Environmentalism,” 1.

⁶⁹⁹ Davison outlines how environmental changes have been made in urban areas, rather than only in parks and places without people.

⁷⁰⁰ Cronin, “The Trouble with Wilderness,” 69.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, 86.

past.”⁷⁰³ Advertisements “assemble signs in an attempt to communicate selected meanings.”⁷⁰⁴ In the case of bottled water, alpine scenes use coldness to call upon purity⁷⁰⁵ while “airbrushed mountains again invoke purity through the image of the absence of life, of the uninhabitable.”⁷⁰⁶ Such associations between wild, untouched, snowy mountain areas and the concept of purity are also seen in advertisements that feature the wild, untouched, snowy scenes of the Antarctic. The “corporate construction of purity”⁷⁰⁷ co-opts these associations for its own commercial purposes. The following section analyses the ways Antarctica has been constructed as a pure environment, before examining case study advertisements where this framing has been used.

Constructing Antarctica as Pure: Literature, Science and Commerce

Antarctica has been constructed as pure for a range of reasons over the course of its human history, including for corporate purposes. C. Michael Hall has noted how, in Antarctica gateway cities, “the Antarctic brand connotes a number of images, including purity, wilderness and untamed nature,”⁷⁰⁸ while Kevin Roberts of Saatchi & Saatchi listed the values of “clean, untouched, pure” and “beauty”⁷⁰⁹ as core brand values for Antarctic. Such ideas can also be found in other forms of cultural production, including literature, film, and advertising. Leane has described Antarctica as “an environment which has become synonymous, in the public imagination, with ‘pristine nature.’”⁷¹⁰ The word ‘pristine,’ Leane explains, is derived from the Latin *pristine-us*, which means previous, or former. An alternative meaning, dating from 1910, defines as pristine that which is “unspoilt by human interference.”⁷¹¹ This definition corroborates Bill Manhire’s ironic description of Antarctica as “the safe, clean,

⁷⁰³ Opel, “Constructing Purity,” 71.

⁷⁰⁴ McQuarrie and Phillips, *Go Figure!* 8.

⁷⁰⁵ Opel, “Constructing Purity,” 73.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁷⁰⁸ Hall, “The Tourist and Economic Significance of Antarctic Travel,” 158.

⁷⁰⁹ Roberts, “Antarctica – Anything is Possible.”

⁷¹⁰ Leane, “Antarctic Travel Writing,” 1.

⁷¹¹ Oxford English Dictionary. Online. s.v. “Pristine”

uncorrupted place where you can start again.”⁷¹² How realistic this particular view of Antarctica actually is remains another question.

In the introduction to his literary anthology *The Wide White Page*, Manhire notes how “Ideas of purity, cleanness, and perfection come up repeatedly in writing about the Antarctic.”⁷¹³ He argues that this purity relates not only to the whiteness of the snow, but also to “purity of motive and behaviour,”⁷¹⁴ thus inviting reflection upon the human history – and historiography – of the continent. Annie Dillard has also remarked on links between behaviour and the theme of purity. In 1982 she observed that

polar explorers – one gathers from their accounts – sought at the Poles something of the sublime. Simplicity and purity attracted them; they set out to perform clear tasks in uncontaminated lands.⁷¹⁵

The concepts of contamination and purity go hand in hand, and have important historical links to the Heroic Era. As Arnold Labrie has shown, “in the decades around 1900, this preoccupation with the pure and the impure appeared in an immense variety of manifestations.”⁷¹⁶ One such manifestation was in the way the polar regions have been framed as clean, untouched, and ripe for claiming.

When the Heroic Era gave way to the post-Treaty idea of a continent for peace and science, the idea of purity translated readily into the new frame. Scientists also speak of the purity of Antarctica: when commenting on her winter-over experience, PhD student Camilla Starkis wrote “I could never have imagined the profound beauty and purity of Antarctica.”⁷¹⁷ This rhetoric of purity – and an associated fear of corruption – is apparent in the discourse around frontier Antarctic science, such as the drilling of sub-glacial lakes. When researchers came close to breaking through into sub glacial Lake Vostok (Russian project) and Whillans (WISSARD project) with their drills, the events were surrounded

⁷¹² Manhire, *The Wide White Page*, 20.

⁷¹³ Ibid., 21.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid., 21.

⁷¹⁵ Dillard, *Teaching a Stone to Talk*, 59.

⁷¹⁶ Labrie, “Purity and Danger in Fin-De-Siecle Culture,” 271.

⁷¹⁷ Starkis, “Science in the Freezer,” 44.

by anxiety about contamination and damaging untouched environments.⁷¹⁸ Russian researchers described how “One of the most complicated problems was the need to test the ecological purity of the Russian technology under field conditions”⁷¹⁹ because “equipment must not contaminate relict waters of this water body.”⁷²⁰ John Prisco, a microbiologist at Montana State University, and part of the WISSARD project, explained how “The stakes for maintaining Vostok’s purity are high” because the lake is “a prime analog site in our search for life on other icy worlds in our solar system.”⁷²¹ It was discovered in 2007 that many of Antarctica’s sub glacial lakes are in fact connected to each other,⁷²² meaning any introduction of outside material into one lake could affect the others, thus raising the stakes even further.

The same fear of contamination – or loss of purity – leads people to argue for parts of Antarctica to remain untouched by human expeditions and investigations, and to advocate the setting aside of ‘untouched’ parts for future research, or so they can retain their ‘wilderness aspect.’ In truth, even the Antarctic surfaces where no human has ever set foot have been touched by human presence on this planet. We live a time recently termed the Anthropocene, when human activity has become the dominant influence acting upon the environment and climate.⁷²³ Antarctica is not immune to such influence. The organochlorine pesticide DDT has been detected in populations of Adelie penguins,⁷²⁴ while traces of radioactive material from radioactive testing elsewhere in the world have been found in the layers of ice cores,⁷²⁵ as has evidence of the industrial revolution, which took place long before any inland exploration of the continent. As Peter Wood puts it, “the ecological purity of the Antarctic as wilderness is becoming questionable as the passage of human

⁷¹⁸ Samples were taken from Lake Vostok on 10 January 2013, and from Lake Whillans on 28 January 2013.

⁷¹⁹ Lukin and Vasiliev, “Technological Aspects of the Final Phase of Drilling Borehole 5G,” 85.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁷²¹ Gramling, “Mysterious Antarctic Lake,” 494.

⁷²² Fricker et al, “An Active Subglacial Water System,” 1544.

⁷²³ Ruddiman, “The Anthropocene,” 45.

⁷²⁴ Lubick, “DDT Levels in Antarctic Penguins.”

⁷²⁵ Delmas, R. J. et al. “Bomb-test ³⁶Cl measurements in Vostok Snow (Antarctica)”.

history is here marked by environmental spoiling.”⁷²⁶ Wood was speaking specifically of huts and Antarctic heritage, but human impacts on Antarctica go much further than the footprint of any base, or the line of human sight. Vestiges of human presence in the Antarctic raise questions of their own, relating to the need to clean up sites of past activities.⁷²⁷ The following section examines the idea of cleanliness in the Antarctic context, ranging from the scale of the human body to that of the continent itself.

Antarctica and the Cult of Clean

Antarctica has been described as the “the last clean place on Earth,”⁷²⁸ and Apsley Cherry-Garrard famously asserted “Polar exploration is at once the cleanest and most isolated way of having a bad time which has been devised.”⁷²⁹ This Antarctic cleanliness is both literal and metaphorical. For those who travel to Antarctica, cleanliness is of utmost importance. At Antarctic bases, it is particularly important to follow strict hygiene procedures and wash hands regularly, in order to help prevent the spread of germs – an outbreak of any communicable disease in such a remote outpost could be crippling for the station. Ship-borne tourists are also indoctrinated with the need to clean; prior to arrival in Antarctica, all tourists must attend a mandatory briefing from the International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO), which underscores the need to protect the ‘pristine’ Antarctic environment.⁷³⁰ This is followed by a cleaning session where clothing is closely inspected by field staff, pockets are vacuumed, and boots are scrubbed clean and sprayed with biocide. The boot cleaning ritual is repeated every time guests return to the ship, in order to prevent the spread of disease between different landing sites and penguin rookeries. On the practical side, it also helps to prevent the ship developing the

⁷²⁶ Wood, “Cold Comfort,” 119.

⁷²⁷ While remediation of the environment is not an explicit legal obligation under the Antarctic Treaty System, there are “definite legal obligations to prevent negative impacts on the Antarctic environment.” Hodgson-Johnston et al, “Cleaning Up,” 135.

⁷²⁸ Matthiessen, *End of the Earth*, 53.

⁷²⁹ Cherry-Garrard. *The Worst Journey in the World*, vii.

⁷³⁰ International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators. “Visitor Guidelines.”

odour of digested krill. On the symbolic side, Antarctica is cast as a clean place, and there is a real sense that one must be clean too, in order to visit; the scrubbing and vacuuming are a rite of passage *en route* to the ice itself. In *Purity and Danger*, Douglas writes how “the sacred needs to be continually hedged in with prohibitions,”⁷³¹ and requires rituals of separation. In the case of Antarctic tourism, the voyage over the Drake Passage (or any other stretch of the Southern Ocean) acts as a barrier, separating the perceived purity of the ice from the rest of the everyday world; the ice is ‘clean,’ and must kept so at all costs.

Antarctica is also perceived as clean because of its unique colonial and war history. Whereas narratives of conquest in all other parts of the world have been revealed as highly problematic – not least because of the large numbers of indigenous people who were negatively affected by colonial actions – Antarctica has largely remained immune to such critique. Unlike the icescapes of the north, the southern continent has no indigenous population, so “polar historians have tended to view Antarctica as ‘empty space.’”⁷³² Klaus Dodds and Kathryn Yusoff have argued that this does not make Antarctica immune to developments in the rest of the world: in fact, “the displacement (or lack of disruption) of colonial narratives in Antarctic colonies implicates those spatialities in a discussion of the postcolonial.”⁷³³ The Antarctic narratives that continue to have the most circulation are those about well-known white European explorers from the Heroic Era, including Scott, Amundsen and Shackleton. Europeans are not the only ones with Antarctic connections; Nobu Shirase’s *Japanese Antarctic Expedition* (1910–12) was underway during 1912 (which was, as Chris Turney puts it, *The Year the World Discovered Antarctica*), and the Council of Managers of National Antarctic Programs (COMNAP) now includes 30 member nations from a range of continents.⁷³⁴ Still, the perception that Antarctica is an exceptional place, set apart from the colonial history and politics of the rest of world, remains.

⁷³¹ Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 21.

⁷³² Dodds and Yusoff, “Settlement and Unsettlement,” 149.

⁷³³ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁷³⁴ Council of Managers of National Antarctic Programs. “About COMNAP.”

That the colour white “has become almost metonymic”⁷³⁵ for Antarctica invites analogies between the ice and notions of purity – including in relation to race. Van der Watt and Swart have analysed this in the South African context, where they show how “in apartheid South Africa, Antarctica was constructed as a white continent, particularly a white continent of and for men.”⁷³⁶ They argue that this whiteness “extends beyond merely being descriptive of an achromatic mixture of all visible frequencies – it is often imbued with cultural connotations of purity, fragility, and even superiority.”⁷³⁷ Peder Roberts has further explored this notion of supremacy, examining how Antarctica became a space for Nazi survival mythology.⁷³⁸ Roberts notes “the polar regions were invested with particular significance as the symbolic source of Germanic purity,”⁷³⁹ and analyses the cultural fabric that made possible myths about Hitler fleeing to Antarctica.⁷⁴⁰ This cultural fabric is particularly important when dealing with a place where few people will ever go. As Roberts puts it, Antarctica “presents an extreme example of a universal truth: that perceptions of novel environments are always framed by personal experience, in terms of culture and politics, in addition to specialized scientific knowledge.”⁷⁴¹ Perceptions of Antarctica are very much framed by cultural inputs, including those carried through the medium of advertising, and the theme of purity is one of the tropes that continues to be associated with Antarctica in a range of ways.

So Clean and White: Soap for Sale

The campaigns that most obviously draw on and amplify the discourse of purity and cleanliness attached to Antarctica are those promoting cleaning products. Soap advertisements have a long history of association with imperialism, race,

⁷³⁵ Van der Watt, Lize-Marié and Sandra Swart. “The Whiteness of Antarctica,” 126.

⁷³⁶ Ibid., 126.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., 126.

⁷³⁸ Roberts, “The White (Supremacist) Continent,” 122.

⁷³⁹ Ibid., 116.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., 111.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., 108.

and purity.⁷⁴² They also play an important role in the history of advertising itself; between the 1870s and 1900, “soap became one of the first commodities to register the historic shift from myriad small businesses to the great imperial monopolies,”⁷⁴³ a shift that was also apparent in the media sector in the late nineteenth century. In her article on “Soft-Soaping Empire,” McClintock explains how, in the context of Victorian cleaning rituals, “soap offered the promise of spiritual salvation and regeneration through commodity consumption.”⁷⁴⁴ This consumption happened not only at home, but also at the very edges of Empire, as explorers carried goods into the unexplored areas of the map. Antarctica is used to offer similar salvation in several more recent advertisements for cleaning products. These range from soaps for the body, through to those for clothing, and for washing dishes. Such advertisements play on Antarctica’s whiteness and associations with freshness, cleanliness, and purity, to a variety of ends. The following section examines several examples of cleaning products that have been advertised using their Antarctic connections, beginning with those used during Admiral Byrd’s 1935 expedition, and progressing to a 1999 advertisement for laundry powder.

Byrd’s Cleaning Products

When Admiral Byrd’s second Antarctic expedition set off south in 1933, they took with them “A Year’s Supply of Cleanliness for the South Pole.”⁷⁴⁵ Publicity photographs show crates of Lux, Lifebuoy and Rinso soap piled high on the docks in front of the S.S. *Jacob Ruppert* – a well-placed life ring in the bottom left of the photograph makes visible the name of the ship, while one box in the centre is tilted on its side, revealing the text “R.E. Byrd Expedition” (Figure 6.2). This photograph is not only a self-contained advertisement for the products included in the shot – it also offers the starting point to explore connections between

⁷⁴² These connections continue today, with Ivory soap promoting its brand values of “purity, family hygiene, and female beauty” into the twenty first century. Powell et al, *The Advertising Handbook*, 199.

⁷⁴³ McClintock, “Soft-Soaping Empire,” 752.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 753.

⁷⁴⁵ As featured in the 1935 promotional booklet *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure*.

Antarctica and notions of cleanliness, themes that are explored further on several more pages of the 1935 advertising booklet *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure*.

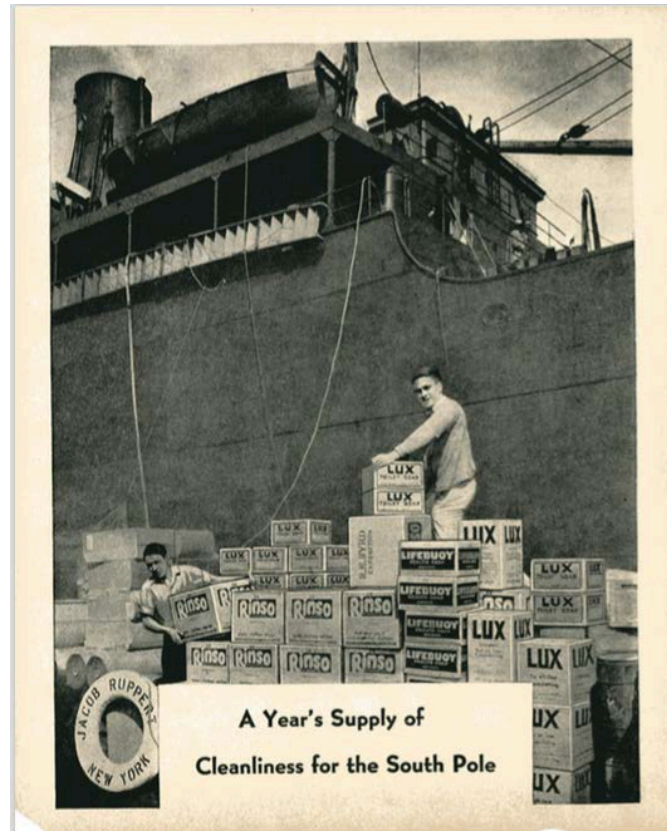


Figure 6.2: Full page photograph of soap supplies being loaded onto Byrd's vessel, 1935 (Source: *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure*, 1935, 35)

An advertisement for Oakite cleaning products on page 26 of *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure* (Figure 6.3) uses elaborate drawings to create a narrative link between the product and the Antarctic. The main heading proudly proclaims the brand name Oakite. It is accompanied by illustrations of an aeroplane (Byrd was best known as an aviator), a ship, and a man with a dog sled. In the top right-hand corner, a facsimile of a telegraph from Byrd sings the praises of the Oakite product: "Oakite used on both ships and at Little America with excellent results." Two photographs dominate the middle third of the advertisement – the first shows three men "Digging Oakite out of Snow Tunnel," and places the product in the Antarctic, complete with visual evidence of snowy surroundings, while the

second is an indoor portrait of the “Kitchen crew at Little America who used Oakite for washing dishes, pots and pans, etc.” Together, the images are designed to illustrate the “stark drama of the frozen Antarctic,” setting the scene for the product’s claim that “All big exploring expeditions use Oakite, because a little does a lot of cleaning.” This advertisement functions in a similar way to those explored in the first two chapters, by establishing a link with a well-known polar explorer (in this case, Byrd) and expedition, and using this as leverage, urging those back home in the US to “let this sudsless cleaner do the work for you the same as it did for both Byrd Expeditions.” Where it differs from advertisements examined, for instance, in the Extremity section, is the way it places the domestic in the centre of both the advertisement and the Antarctic environment.



Figure 6.3: Oakite advertisement, 1935

(Source: The Romance of Antarctic Adventure, 1935, 26)

A collage of domestic images some ten pages later in *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure* – positioned opposite the dockside crates of Lux and Rinso – goes some way towards explaining this focus (Figure 6.4). The top half of the page is dominated by a photograph of Steve Corey (supply officer) and Paul Siple (biologist) taking their turn washing dishes, with a box of Rinso just visible beside the sink. The headline, “Another Record at Little America,” refers to the number of dishes the men had washed in 10 minutes with the help of Rinso. The caption also draws out the product name, urging the viewer to “Note how they love this task – so dreaded by some housewives!” In the domestic US context, household tasks were still highly gendered; housewives were the audience for this advertisement, and it was at them that the rhetorical question of the next line was aimed: “Is it because they use Rinso’s rich, gentle, yet quick-working suds?” The only way to find out was for those at home to try the product for themselves.



Figure 6.4: Lux advertisement featuring dishwashing and a bath, 1935
(Source: *The Romance of Antarctic Adventure*, 1935, 36)

Another type of soap dominates the bottom half of the page, namely Lux Toilet Soap. A carefully staged photograph shows Bob Young taking a bath at “40° below zero,” surrounded by four other expeditioners brandishing brushes and soap. The caption builds upon the visual narrative, explaining “Bob Young really doesn’t need help in his bath. Life-buoy or Lux Toilet Soap give him all the help necessary.” His companions are, however, “eager to have their enjoyable ‘Saturday night’” before climbing into their woollens, which were also “kept soft and warm with Lux.” Here the Lux product is associated with warmth and softness; the soap is portrayed as having a civilising influence, and being associated with a pleasurable experience. How regular these bathing sessions were in practice is another story – an ambient temperature of 40° below zero may not have presented the ideal conditions under which to take a long relaxing soak in the tub. For viewers of the advertisement, however, the comforting connotations of the brand were clear, and that comfort was transferrable into their own households, thanks to the widespread availability of the product.

In several of these Byrd advertisements, the images associated with cleaning products highlight the domestic. In this regard, the advertisements carry echoes of earlier examples, including the sewing machine (Figure 2.2) and gramophone (Figure 2.3) that were used on Scott’s Discovery expedition and discussed in Chapter 1. These kinds of advertisements were designed to speak to the housewives who took care of the cleaning back home, whilst capitalising on the contemporary interest in the Byrd Antarctic expedition. Juxtaposing domestic machinery or cleaning products with the extreme environment of the Antarctic suggests they would be effective at creating a cosy atmosphere anywhere in the world – including in the kitchens and laundries of the advertisement readers. The fact that cleaning products feature so prominently in the book of advertisements (sanitary items account for 6 of the 25 products) indicates the importance of the domestic market for such products. While it was a novelty for a brand’s wares to be taken to Antarctica, it was lucrative only if those back home were aware of the association and sought to replicate it for themselves by also purchasing the product.

Drive Laundry Powder

Antarctica's appearance as a white continent has not gone unnoticed by those who have been tasked with marketing cleaning products in more modern times. A December 1999 advertisement for Drive Advanced Enzyme laundry powder is a prime example of Antarctica's clean and white image being translated onto a domestic soap item (Figure 6.5). The advertisement, which appeared in the *Australian Women's Weekly*, is divided into three sections, with text on the top third, an image of an iceberg and its reflection in the middle third, and small icon displaying the Drive laundry powder in the right-hand corner of the bottom third. Under the headline "Ever wondered why Antarctica looks so clean and white?" the advertisement sets forth a narrative of science and nature, explaining how "armed with thermal lab coats we sent our scientists to find out." In fact, the Drive laundry powder has no actual link to Antarctica, save the narrative one constructed by this advertisement, but that narrative engages several common conceptions of the continent, translating them into value for the product in question.

Antarctica is often associated with science, and the Drive advertisement invokes this association. What is the answer to Antarctica's brilliant whiteness? According to the advertisement, it is "enzymes." Enzymes are proteins that catalyse chemical reactions – they are essential for life, and they are found everywhere on the planet. Unsurprisingly, then, they are also found in Antarctica (although it is not specifically Antarctic enzymes that feature in the product). The advertisement text goes on to explain that as "enzymes are one of mother nature's cleaning products," putting them into the Drive soap powder formula makes the product "bring out the whiteness of clothes," thus "reducing the need for other chemicals that may be more harmful." The advertisement taps into several ideas about Antarctica, including purity and cleanliness, as well as scientific advancement and environmental protection. The suggestion is that this product will leave your whites whiter, whilst also allowing you to protect the

sanctity of the natural environment, by having less of an impact than any alternative products. The purity of the Antarctic landscape in the illustration is used to stand in for the purity of the earth as a whole, indirectly calling upon the morality of the viewer as well as their aesthetic sense.

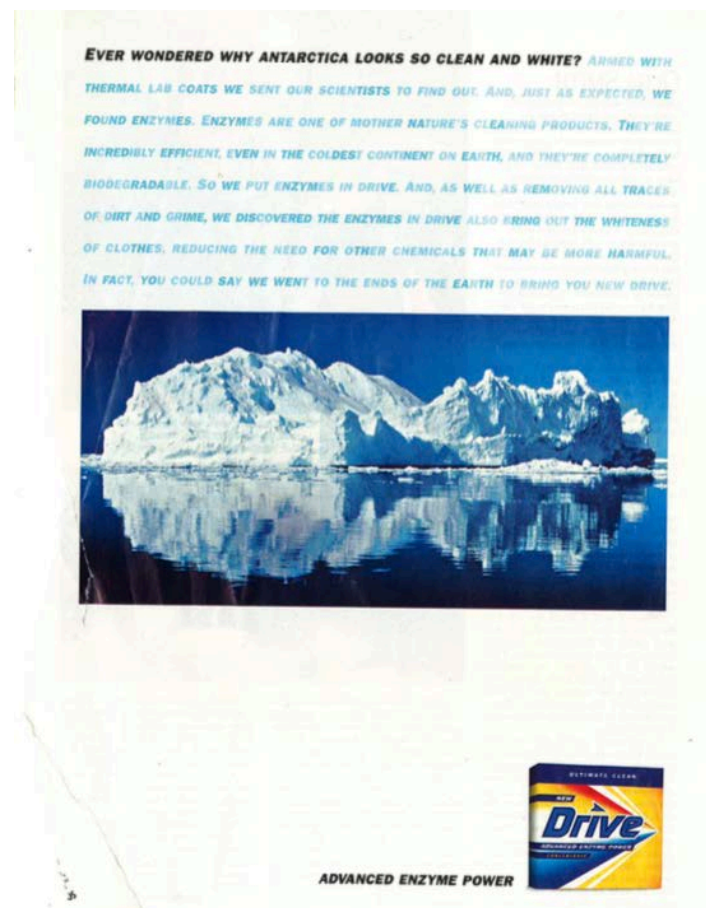


Figure 6.5: Drive advertisement featuring icebergs, 1999
(Source: Australian Women's Weekly, December 1999, 223)

The Drive advertisement employs correlation, not causation; at no point is it stated that the Antarctic link is the reason Drive powder will make clothes white. The advertisement does, however, encourage the reader to make their own links between Antarctic enzymes, the white of the ice, and the purity of a Drive laundry clean. The advertisement concludes "In fact, you could say we went to

the ends of the earth to bring you new Drive.” In actual fact, this advertisement shows just the opposite. It is not necessary to literally go to the ends of the earth in order to make use of Antarctica in an advertising campaign; instead, advertisers just need to take people on a journey of the imagination, stopping off at recognisable tropes (such as purity and science) along the way. Cleaning items are not the only products to have featured an Antarctic link in their advertising material; alcoholic beverages are another area where Antarctic imagery and the icy connotations of the far south have been employed as a sales tactic. The examples in the next section represent a range of approaches, and make use of both physical and purely metaphorical Antarctic links to drive home their message.

Icy White: Alcohol advertising

A number of alcohol manufacturers have used Antarctic imagery to promote their products by taking prospective customers on an imaginative journey. There are parallels between these alcohol advertisements and those for bottled water such as Evian and Poland Springs, which often feature alpine scenes devoid of human presence, where “desolate winter images depict a rare place on our planet, a place where very few beings live, and where man only visits.”⁷⁴⁶ This snowy imagery calls upon “a geographic image of European purity”⁷⁴⁷ in order to make the product more desirable; the same effect can be created using Antarctic purity. Alcohol advertisements are consistently symbolic, in that they concentrate on the product image,⁷⁴⁸ and this makes them an ideal case study for examining representations of Antarctica. While some tap into the trope of the Antarctic hero, drawing upon associations of masculinity and toughness (the Glenfiddich advertisement in Chapter 3 shown in Figure 4.8 is a prime example), others create conceptual links between the crisp, clear or pure nature of their product, and that of the Antarctic ice; like bottled water, they “claim a purity

⁷⁴⁶ Opel, “Constructing Purity,” 72.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., 73.

⁷⁴⁸ Leiss et al, “Social Communication in Advertising,” 201.

through coldness.”⁷⁴⁹ As with other products, a material Antarctic link is not a necessity. Although some brewers and distillers have travelled to Antarctica prior to making their products, it is equally effective to simply call upon the associated tropes of purity and freshness, cementing Antarctic links via advertising alone.

A journey to Antarctica in early 2010 inspired cognac maker Jean Jacques Godet to create “The original and very pure, Antarctica, Icy White”⁷⁵⁰ (Figure 6.6). Godet, whose family have run the Cognac Godet business for five generations, travelled to Antarctica from 14 March to 1 May 2010 on board a small yacht, and chronicled his voyage in a blog. This blog is curated so as to narrate the history of the Antarctic cognac; Godet claims “It was while picking up growlers... that the idea of Antarctica was born.”⁷⁵¹ The labelling, packaging, and marketing material for the Godet Antarctica Icy White product all reinforce the associations between the drink and its namesake continent; imagery of ice and penguins feature, and the word ‘purity’ is repeated.⁷⁵² A photograph of the bottle takes centre stage on the website, placed amongst the landscape like something monumental that has sprung out of the ice, echoing Antarctica’s icebergs. Here it is not only the name of a continent that is co-opted for commercial use, but the associations that the name ‘Antarctica’ carries. One such association is coldness – the product website explains how “as a tribute to the South Pole, Antarctica, Icy White had to be able to face sub-zero temperatures like no other spirit can.”⁷⁵³ The white nature of the Antarctic landscape comes through in the French version of the tagline, which, when translated, reads “the original Antarctica, white and very pure.”⁷⁵⁴ Godet’s final blog post from 1 May 2010 includes a reflection upon the concept of his new product: “The driving impulse for this new product will highlight Antarctica and its soul: Ice, Purity, and Uniqueness.”⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁴⁹ Opel, “Constructing Purity,” 73.

⁷⁵⁰ Godet. “Antarctica.”

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

⁷⁵² In the French version of the website, the tagline “L’original Antarctica, blanc et tres pure” replaces the English “The original and very pure, Antarctica, Icy White.”

⁷⁵³ Godet. “Antarctica.”

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid.



Figure 6.6: Godet Antarctica Icy White, product homepage, 2017
(Source: Godet, www.antarcticgodet.com)

At times Antarctica's pristine associations are translated onto other landscapes; the Tasmanian-made "Süd Polaire Antarctic Dry Gin" is a case in point. An advertisement on page 3 of the literary magazine *Island* (Figure 6.7) calls upon the links between the island of Tasmania and Antarctica in order to market the locally made spirit. The body text, located in the top right-hand corner of the page, begins by casting the island of Tasmania as "an archetypal wilderness of mountain, mist and cloud forest at the edge of the world." The island's location on the edge of the Southern Ocean – and the Antarctic Gateway identity claimed by its capital city of Hobart⁷⁵⁶ – make conceptual links with Antarctica easy to frame. The advertisement does just this, claiming that the gin is "balanced by pristine Tasmanian rainwater swept across a vast expanse of Southern Ocean over polar ice from Antarctica; the coldest, driest, windiest place on earth." The pristine nature of the product comes from its Antarctic origins, with the journey across the Southern Ocean adding to the narrative of distance and distinction. The textual reference to wilderness creates an imagined link to Antarctica, too, as the continent is often described as a (if not the ultimate) wilderness. While the product name and the presented narrative both carry Antarctic associations, the

⁷⁵⁶ Antarctic Tasmania, "Hobart: Gateway to Antarctica."

imagery in the advertisement comes from warmer climes; the page is dominated by the outline of a bottle, which is filled with twisting green tree branches. The dissonance created by the green foliage beneath the Antarctic title makes the advertisement memorable, and suggests that Antarctica is closer than viewers may have thought (indeed, a taste is available on the wharf in the state's capital city).⁷⁵⁷

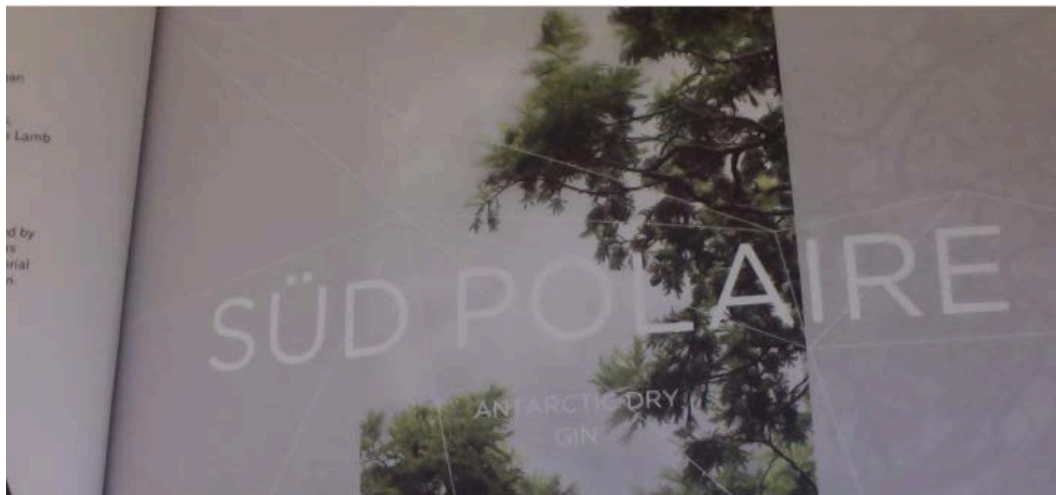


Figure 6.7: Söd Polaire advertisement, 2016 (Source: Island 144, 2016, 3)

A much more literal taste of Antarctica comes in the form of a 30-bottle run of Antarctic Nail Ale (Figure 6.8). The 2010 beer, brewed by the Perth-based Nail Ale Company, was created using water melted from an Antarctic iceberg, and marketed as “possibly the world’s oldest and purest beer” (Figure 6.8). Betty J. Parker has written about the “myth promoted by beer manufacturers that beer is natural, pure, and perhaps even healthy,”⁷⁵⁸ and how this idea has been constructed in advertising. In this case, the claims to age and purity come directly from this iceberg link – Antarctic icebergs comprise many layers of compacted ice that have slowly flowed down from the polar plateau into the ocean, where they eventually calve off and float away. This process takes a long time, but the purity claim also relates to the fact that human history in the

⁷⁵⁷ Söd Polaire, “Söd Polaire Antarctic Dry Spirit.”

⁷⁵⁸ Parker, “Exploring Life Themes and Myths in Alcohol Advertisements,” 105.

Antarctic region is so recent – the suggestion being that the ice is pure, and untouched by people.

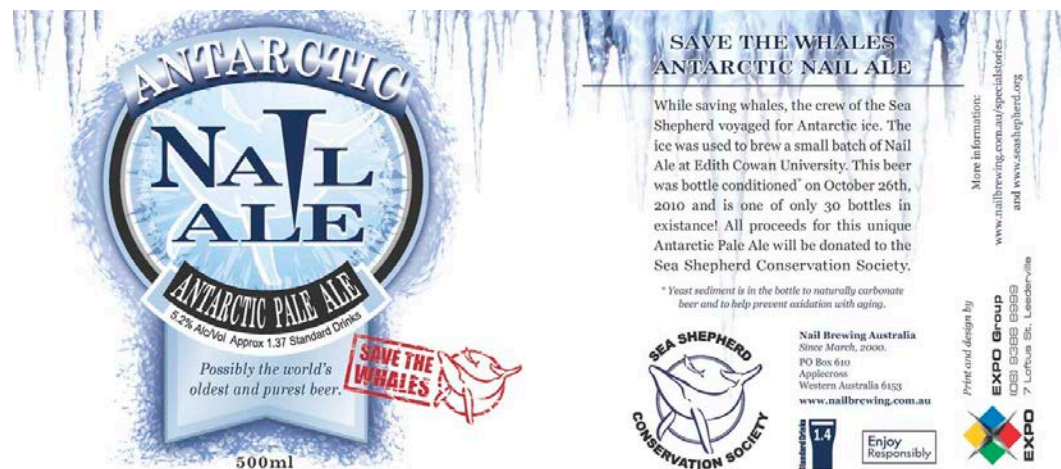


Figure 6.8: Antarctic Nail Ale Bottle label, 2010
(Source: LT, "World's Most Expensive Beer")

Given that the ice itself was harvested using a helicopter and a ship that travelled into the Southern Ocean, the claim to purity insofar as it relates to the lack of a human footprint is problematic. It was, however, a valuable claim to make; Antarctic Nail Ale made headlines as the most expensive beer when a bottle sold at auction for AU\$1,850.⁷⁵⁹ Proceeds were donated to the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, and the bottles themselves featured the Sea Shepherd logo and the seal "save the whales." This beer, which had direct links to the Antarctic regions, was therefore used to raise the profile of both the Sea Shepherd group (and its proclaimed conservation aims) and the Nail Ale brewery. In a 2010 interview with the *Sydney Morning Herald*, brewer John Stallwood was candid about the publicity value of the Antarctic beer: "Small breweries have little advertising budget – especially me – so we rely on publicity."⁷⁶⁰ Creating an Antarctic link for the beer product may have been a "gimmick,"⁷⁶¹ but it was one way of drawing attention to the brand. Purity was an instantly recognisable

⁷⁵⁹ Yenne, *Beer*, 200.

⁷⁶⁰ Wilson, "Pricey Pint."

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

trope to use when creating a product with Antarctic links, and one that fitted well with an image of protecting Antarctica and the Southern Ocean region.⁷⁶²

The alcohol advertisements examined here show how Antarctica has been used to evoke ideas of purity and whiteness; to create imagined links from afar; and to lend a product authenticity in its claims to purity and age. Opel has demonstrated how purity “becomes a site of cultural struggle, with public and private entities vying for the ability to inscribe water (nature) with their cultural identifications”⁷⁶³ in advertisements for bottled water. This is also the case with alcoholic beverages that call upon the purity trope, as they make use of the purity concept for their own commercial purposes. It is significant that Godet cognac, Süd Polaire gin and Nail Ale beer are all high-end products. While there are also examples of lower-end alcohol advertisements using Antarctic imagery (including a 1994 Smirnoff campaign that featured a penguin wearing a tuxedo, viewed through a vodka bottle – A1994c) such advertisements also tend to call upon notions of the elite. Antarctica lends itself well to this sort of framing, partly because penguins are often anthropomorphised as tuxedo-wearing creatures, but also because the continent itself is the domain of only a select few. Few people will ever travel there, and the taste of Antarctica is also reserved for the few who can afford it.

Beneath the Surface: Health, Skin, and Bioprospecting

Beer is not the only product that has been marketed on its physical link to Antarctica. Other companies have used material found in Antarctica in their domestic products, with anti-freeze proteins, cosmetics, nutraceuticals, food products, medicines,⁷⁶⁴ and – in an example reminiscent of the Drive laundry powder advertisement – washing powder formulas all making it onto consumer

⁷⁶² Sea Shepherd also try to activate the hero narrative through their activities, such as obstructing whaling vessels on the High Seas, and the organisation is itself associated with a certain brand of fierce moral purity.

⁷⁶³ Opel, “Constructing Purity,” 75.

⁷⁶⁴ Agencia Iberoamericana para la Difusión de la Ciencia y la Tecnología “Enzymes from Antarctica have Industrial Use.”

shelves. As early as 1998, the European COLDZYME project was asserting “Enzymes found in Antarctic bacteria can be used both in industrial applications and in domestic products such as washing powder as they active [*sic*] at low temperatures thus giving huge energy savings.”⁷⁶⁵ The search for novelty in living organisms that can be used for commercial applications is known as biological prospecting, usually shortened to “bioprospecting,” and is an important new development in the use of Antarctic resources for commercial purposes.

Described as a “hybrid activity – part science, part industry,”⁷⁶⁶ bioprospecting involves the search for, and possible extraction of, living organisms with commercial intent.⁷⁶⁷ As the process extends “beyond the discovery stage to the commercial application stage,”⁷⁶⁸ marketing is the final phase of bioprospecting.⁷⁶⁹ With an estimated 200 companies and research institutes involved in bioprospecting,⁷⁷⁰ including organisations such as Du Pont, Oxford University, and Unilever, this is a growing field. It is also a contentious one: Yves Frenot, director of the French Polar Institute, has described the economic activity associated with using genetic resources as “difficult to reconcile with ... the Antarctic Treaty.”⁷⁷¹ Ethical issues can also arise if there are conflicts of interest between scientific inquiry and income-generating opportunities.⁷⁷² The topic has been raised at several Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings (2005, 2009, 2013). It was declared in 2013 that “the Antarctic Treaty System is the appropriate framework for managing the collection of biological material in the Antarctic Treaty area and for considering its use,”⁷⁷³ but tensions between scientific and commercial interests remain. Much of this tension relates to the ways we conceptualise Antarctica: I have argued it can be seen as either “a pure, untouched wilderness, or just another part of the world waiting to be used for

⁷⁶⁵ European Union. “COLDZYME Report Summary.”

⁷⁶⁶ Hemmings, “Environmental Management,” 82.

⁷⁶⁷ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 186.

⁷⁶⁸ New Zealand and Sweden. “Biological Prospecting in Antarctica.” 2.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁷⁰ Dodds, *The Antarctic*, 125.

⁷⁷¹ Quoted in Doyle, “Antarctic Patents Strain Goals of Shared Science.”

⁷⁷² Hughes and Bridge, “Potential Impacts of Antarctic Bioprospecting,” 14.

⁷⁷³ Resolution 6 (2013). ATCM XXXVI – CEP XVI, Brussels. “Biological Prospecting in Antarctica.”

human purposes.”⁷⁷⁴ The purity trope casts it as the former, but Antarctica’s long human history of commercialisation shows that this is not the only way of thinking about the continent.

The idea of untouched wilderness can be valuable when put to commercial purposes, particularly when combined with an Antarctic link. The skincare cream Antarctilyne is a prime example of a commercial product that both has its roots in bioprospecting, and calls upon its Antarctic associations by activating the purity theme⁷⁷⁵ (Figure 6.9). The skin care cream, which was promoted in Australia by Skin Doctors throughout 2005,⁷⁷⁶ contains a glycoprotein that was discovered at the bottom of a glacier in Admiralty Bay, and named Antarcticine.⁷⁷⁷ Promotional material for the cosmetic cream focuses on this connection, describing how

Antarcticine is produced by an extremophile – a ‘survival’ molecule which actually thrives in extreme conditions. And it doesn’t get more extreme than Antarctica. Yet Antarcticine has survived for millions of years. If Antarcticine is so resilient, so powerful that it can survive in such extreme conditions – just imagine what it could do for your skin!⁷⁷⁸

This advertising pitch speaks directly to the myth of purity and the cult of youth,⁷⁷⁹ evoking ideas of glacial beauty, and of time standing still. The implication is that this product can halt time, preserving unblemished youth.⁷⁸⁰ Antarctilyne is not the only skin cream to use Antarctic links and the purity theme; Leejiham’s Antarctic Cream, for instance, contains the microorganism *P. Antarctica* and has been advertised against a backdrop of penguins and ice (AXr, AXs).⁷⁸¹ Water, ice and glaciers all have similar effects, gesturing towards notions of purity. Promotional material for Antarctilyne draws upon existing symbols

⁷⁷⁴ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 186.

⁷⁷⁵ Elizabeth Leane has written on the relationship between this product and time. Leane, “Freezing Time,” 153.

⁷⁷⁶ Leane, “The Land that Time Forgot,” 199.

⁷⁷⁷ Antarcticine is a brand name for the bacterial strain “*Pseudoalteromonas Antarctica*,” which was discovered in 1988 by scientists from the University of Barcelona. Lotion Crafter. “Antarcticine.”

⁷⁷⁸ Salonlines Hair and Beauty, “Skin Doctors Antarcticine.”

⁷⁷⁹ Media Education Foundation, “The Purity Myth Transcript.”

⁷⁸⁰ Leane, “Freezing,” 200.

⁷⁸¹ HKC Plaza, “LJH P. Antarctica 77 Cream.”

and connotations to market a product by both highlighting a physical Antarctic link, and capitalising on existing Antarctic tropes.

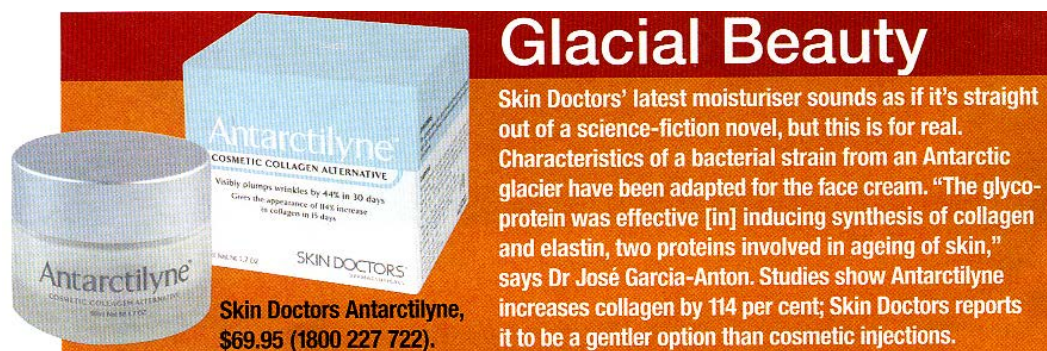


Figure 6.9: Product promotion for Antarctilyne, 2005

(Source: Who, 6 June 2005, 78)

Antarctic tropes are also useful in advertisements for health products, including krill oil. While fish that is caught in the Southern Ocean is rarely promoted as coming from Antarctica,⁷⁸² for krill the origin of location has long been a drawcard in advertising campaigns, and images of penguins and pristine icescapes abound. So too do notions of purity, freshness, and health. When the environmental NGO, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and the natural health company, Blackmores, partnered in 2012 on the three-year Sustainable Fish Oils Partnership, health was at the forefront. On the Partners section of their website, WWF explains how “well-being for us is linked to well-being for the planet,”⁷⁸³ indicating the importance the organisation places on sustainability. Such a focus on the health of the earth as well as the health of customers also offered a positive marketing opportunity for Blackmores – one that came through in a 2012/13 campaign for krill oil (analysed in detail below). Here the physical association with Antarctica’s pristine landscape is used to suggest an environmentally friendly message by evoking ideas of nature as pristine.

⁷⁸² An exception is toothfish caught by members of The Coalition of Legal Toothfish Operators (COLTO), who have sought transparency over supply chains.

⁷⁸³ World Wildlife Foundation, “Blackmores.”

Blackmores Eco Krill: Purity as the Tip of an Iceberg

When Blackmores Eco Krill was launched in 2012, it was the only sustainably sourced krill oil to be certified by the Marine Stewardship Council.⁷⁸⁴ This link, and the connotations that such accreditation carries for care of the environment, were at the heart of a Xander Creative advertising campaign for the product. Images were displayed on a range of platforms across Australia, including on bus shelters and in print magazines, and the project continues to be showcased on the Xander Creative website.⁷⁸⁵ The advertisements all feature an image of a penguin, and an image of a floating iceberg, with the waterline bisecting the page, and the underside of the iceberg shown beneath the water (Figure 6.10 and Figure 6.11). A quote by Albert Einstein at the bottom of the canvas suggests an ecocentric, rather than anthropocentric, approach:

Our task must be to free ourselves... by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature and its beauty.⁷⁸⁶

Language such as “the whole of nature” helps to position the Blackmores Eco Krill brand as existing within a wider ecosystem, mirroring the ecosystem-based approach taken by CCAMLR when setting krill catch limits in the Southern Ocean. Both the text and image in the advertisement combine to create the appearance of an environmentally friendly product.

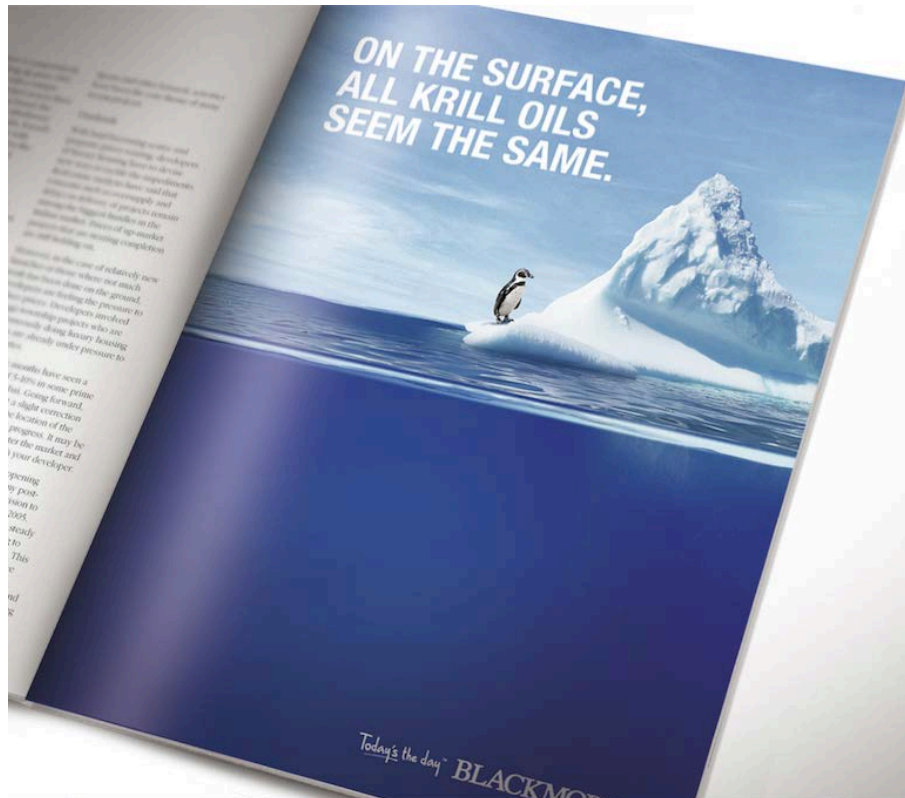
The main Blackmores Eco Krill advertisement tagline differs depending on whether it is presented above the water’s surface (“On the surface, all krill oils look the same” – Figure 6.10) or below the surface (“Deep down, Blackmores cares where it’s from” – Figure 6.11). “Deep down” can be read as referring to Antarctica as the deep south; to the location of krill that are (sometimes) found deep in oceans; to heartfelt feelings; or to the depths to which a penguin can dive. Employing word play in this way means the environment and morality are conflated, with the perceived purity of the first being superimposed upon the second. The play on ideas of surface and depth in the text is mirrored in the

⁷⁸⁴ Blackmores partnered with WWF for a three-year project titled Sustainable Fish Oils Partnership. Blackmores, “Blackmores and WWF.”

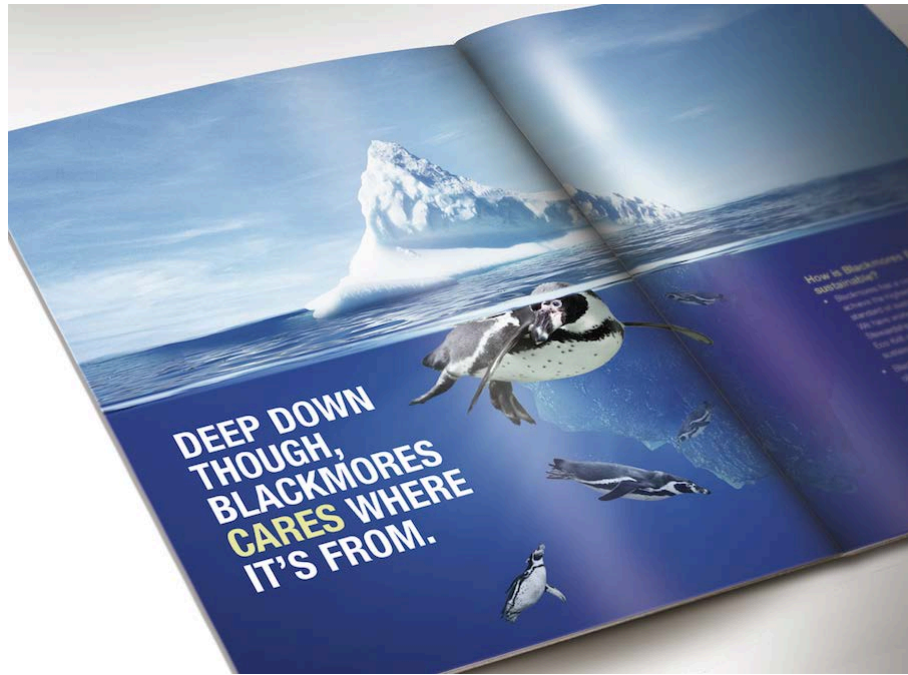
⁷⁸⁵ Xander Creative, “Blackmores Krill Oil.”

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid.

image, where the motif of the iceberg is used to suggest that there is more than meets the eye. In this case the suggestion is that the environmental credentials shown in the advertisement are just the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the company's environmentally friendly behaviours. Purity and protection go hand in hand, and here the Blackmore's link to protection is used to reinforce the perceived purity of its product.



*Figure 6.10: Blackmores Krill Oil Campaign elements,
as highlighted by Xander Creative, 2011
(Source: Xander Creative. "Blackmores Krill Oil.")*



*Figure 6.11: Blackmores Krill Oil Campaign elements,
as highlighted by Xander Creative, 2011
(Source: Xander Creative. "Blackmores Krill Oil.")*

Antarctica is a difficult location to visit, but advances in technology mean it is not a difficult environment to create (or enhance) digitally. The availability of stock imagery makes the Antarctic setting – and the associated values and themes it can portray, including freshness, cleanness, and purity – available at the click of a button. It can also lead to idealised depictions of Antarctica, with little regard for accuracy (the non-Antarctic penguins featured with Dora the Explorer at the South Pole in Chapter 3 are but one example – see Figure 4.1). Imagery in all of the Blackmores advertisements creates an idealised version of the Southern Ocean, where penguins, icebergs and blue skies exist harmoniously. It shows where krill comes from, but pictures the wilderness rather than a commercial operation; the ice is very white, not streaked with pink penguin faeces (the inevitable result in any real-life situation where penguins, krill, and icebergs co-exist). The scene is clean and fresh, suggesting that these qualities are also present in the product being advertised. Xander Creative also comments on the choice of an Antarctic setting: "Obviously location shoots are, well, tough to say

the least, so we compiled a range of images and created our own Antarctic environment from scratch”.⁷⁸⁷ This creative licence also resulted in some rather lost penguins – while some Blackmores posters feature Gentoos, which are quite at home amongst the ice, others show the much more temperate Humboldt variety. Geographic reassignment of the species does not detract from the meaning of the advertisement, however – penguins have long been used as shorthand for Antarctica, so their presence points to the continent regardless of their native habitats. The continent, in turn – which is gestured to by both penguin and ice – carries a range of resonances that are activated by the language used to frame the place.

The idea of purity is also invoked through the rhetoric of protection; what is being protected is valued precisely because it has remained untouched. The Blackmores Eco Krill advertisements promote a product sourced in the Antarctic by both employing pristine imagery, and by displaying their MSC credentials as a central feature. The idea is that this environment where krill are found needs to be protected in order to maintain its ‘pure’ status – which is paradoxical, given that animals must be removed from the ‘untouched’ Southern Ocean in order to make the product in the first place. Blackmores is careful to frame its use of Southern Ocean resources as being sustainable and environmentally friendly – and the krill fishery has, historically, been one of the best managed in the world. Antarctic fisheries are currently managed by the Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources, which was established in 1982 as a direct result of increased commercial interest in Antarctic krill stocks.⁷⁸⁸ The CCAMLR Commission is responsible for setting catch limits for fish and krill in the Southern Ocean, and takes an ecosystem-based approach to the use of marine living resources. In the case of Blackmores advertising, an overt association with the MSC is one way of assuring customers that “krill is sourced in a sustainable way.”⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁸ Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources, “About CCAMLR.”

⁷⁸⁹ Blackmores, “Blackmores responds to Sea Shepherd.”

Nonetheless, it can be problematic to associate the purity of an environment with a product that is created by taking resources from said environment.⁷⁹⁰ Several campaigns that have protested against the krill fishing industry have at their heart a “perceived mismatch between the wilderness value of the Antarctic and the commercial activities that are undertaken in the Southern Ocean.”⁷⁹¹ Such petitions are predicated on the assumption that “the Antarctic shouldn’t be a place for profit,”⁷⁹² and have described krill fishing as “the plunder of Antarctica and one of the last unspoiled oceans on the planet.”⁷⁹³ Antarctica is a place for profit, however, and has been ever since the first human interactions with the region. Fishing for krill, toothfish and icefish is a legitimate activity – indeed, CCAMLR itself has at its heart the dual strands of conservation and rational use.⁷⁹⁴ In “Selling the South” I have argued that protests about activities in the Southern Ocean result when two different conceptual versions of Antarctica come head to head: on one side, it is framed as “a pristine wilderness that should be left alone,” and on the other hand, as “a place that should be carefully managed in order to provide sustainable resources on an ongoing basis.”⁷⁹⁵ How different people view the situation depends on their values and on their Antarctic Imaginary, or “the cluster of values, tropes and ideas that they associate with the place.”⁷⁹⁶ This imagined version of the region is shaped by cultural inputs, so marketing is a very important tool for swaying public opinion in one direction or another. Both cultural inputs and attitudes are malleable and change over time, meaning it is necessary to pay attention to the underlying values and assumptions that inform any actions (or reactions) in the Antarctic region.

⁷⁹⁰ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 185.

⁷⁹¹ Nielsen, “Selling the South,” 185.

⁷⁹² Sea Shepherd, “Petition.”

⁷⁹³ Sum Of Us, “CVS: Vacuuming Antarctica for krill.”

⁷⁹⁴ Brooks, “Competing Values,” 280.

⁷⁹⁵ Nielsen, “Selling the Story,” 185.

⁷⁹⁶ Nielsen, “Selling the Story,” 183.

Pure and Untouched?

The purity frame casts Antarctica as a place that is (or should be) untouched by humans, and carries associations of freshness, unadulterated science, and the halting of time. It has been used to sell a range of products, from soaps and skin creams to alcoholic beverages, and is present whenever the themes of wilderness, freshness, or pure science emerge in advertisements. Many of the advertisements examined in this chapter are aimed at women (Oakite, Rinso, Drive, Antarcticine) or at environmentally conscious consumers (Eco Krill Oil), marking a point of difference compared to the male-oriented advertisements in the heroism and extremity sections. The purity frame is therefore a way of opening up Antarctic advertising to female audiences, whilst still building upon existing gender stereotypes – as we have seen, the rhetoric of protection goes hand in hand with sexual politics. The rhetoric of protection is particularly strong in Australia, which sees itself as “a leader in environmental stewardship, comprehensive environmental protection and ecosystem conservation in Antarctica.”⁷⁹⁷ For this reason, the trope of purity – and the associated fear of contamination – is often used by Australian advertisers in order to advance their environmental credentials. This can be seen further when examining the frame of fragility, which is addressed in the next chapter. Paradoxically, it is much more common for products that have a direct Antarctic link to call upon purity than any other themes, despite the inherent contradictions associated with sourcing such products. While this can be problematic, it does indicate the value that the frame carries, and that the association between Antarctica and purity has wide appeal. If “purity is a matter of place,”⁷⁹⁸ then Antarctica fits the bill – the place has become shorthand for purity itself.

⁷⁹⁷ Australian Antarctic Division, “Australia in the Antarctic Treaty System.”

⁷⁹⁸ Labrie, “Purity and Danger in Fin-De-Siecle Culture,” 270.

Chapter 6 – Fragile Antarctica

Between 31 January and 7 March 2002, the Larsen B Ice Shelf on the eastern side of the Antarctic Peninsula collapsed with dramatic speed. The break up was photographed via NASA's MODIS satellite, resulting in a series of images that have since been combined into a time-lapse series, widely circulated, and continue to provide dramatic visuals for the narrative of climate change.⁷⁹⁹ Never before had such a large area disintegrated so rapidly,⁸⁰⁰ and never before had visual imagery of this sort of event been imbued with such strong cultural meaning. Williamson claims “imagery circulating in our societies has a profound effect on our ability to grasp the world as it is, and imagine how it might be.”⁸⁰¹ In the case of the Larsen B Ice Shelf, the imagery of the collapse (Figure 7.1) was transmitted across the globe, used to illustrate news items, reproduced in print and digital forms, and came to symbolize a fragile climate system that was already melting, cracking, and disintegrating on a very human timescale.

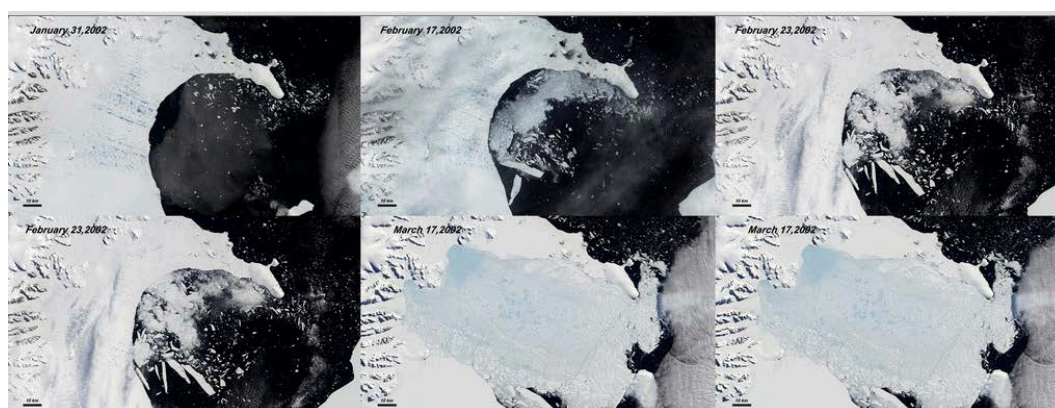


Figure 7.1: Collapse of the Larsen B Ice Shelf, 2002 (Source: NASA/Goddard Space Flight Center, “Collapse of the Larsen B Ice Shelf”)

The visibility of the Larsen B collapse is just as significant as the short timeframe over which it occurred. Kathryn Yusoff has written how “one can experience the compression of the reality of time and space” within this series of images, where

⁷⁹⁹ Plester, “Continuing Collapse of Antarctic Ice Shelves.”

⁸⁰⁰ Lindsey, “Collapse of the Larsen-B Ice Shelf.”

⁸⁰¹ Williamson, “Unfreezing the Truth.”

“the predominant narration becomes about witnessing the spectacle of change.”⁸⁰² Indeed, the time-lapse series makes visible “the moment when disaster strikes.”⁸⁰³ Imagery of the cracking Larsen B ice shelf has been recycled in the opening of the 2004 US disaster film “The Day After Tomorrow,”⁸⁰⁴ inspired artworks,⁸⁰⁵ and appeared on t-shirts: online clothing company Zazzle promotes the Larsen B Ice Shelf Collapse (Picture Earth) Shirt as a gift that will surely get others talking about the consequences of global warming. [It is the] Perfect educational science gift for all fans and advocates of the existence of Antarctica, the ice continent!”⁸⁰⁶

Such cultural products illustrate how melting ice has come to stand for a fragile climate system, with Antarctica providing a short hand for vulnerable ecosystems everywhere. Made up of ice and glaciers that are “susceptible to cultural framing as both dangerous and endangered landscapes,”⁸⁰⁷ Antarctica simultaneously comes to be seen as fragile and treacherous. The continent is cast as a place that both threatens humankind and needs protecting from the effects of anthropogenic climate change. This dissonance is key to representations that call upon Antarctica to embody environmental ideas. When it comes to the theme of fragility, the use of the Larsen B imagery to articulate the phenomena of global change is just the tip of the metaphorical iceberg.⁸⁰⁸

This chapter examines the ways in which advertisements have depicted Antarctica as a fragile environment. While the idea of Antarctica as a place for peace and science – and protection – is now widespread, it must be remembered that the roots of human engagement with Antarctic are in commerce and exploitation, and viewing Antarctica as a place to be protected is a relatively new phenomenon. Contextual information in the first section of this chapter traces

⁸⁰² Yusoff, “Visualizing Antarctica,” 387.

⁸⁰³ Ibid., 387.

⁸⁰⁴ Emmerich, *The Day After Tomorrow*.

⁸⁰⁵ Andrea Juan’s *Antarctica* project (2005-2014) explores the collapsing ice shelves. Juan, *Antarctic Project*; Satoshi Itasaka’s resin vase entitled “Larsen C” refers to global warming, with the artist claiming his artwork reflects that “now the disappearance of the last [ice shelf], Larsen C, is only a matter of time.” Itasaka, *Ice Shelf Vase*.

⁸⁰⁶ Zazzle, “Larsen B Ice Shelf Collapse.”

⁸⁰⁷ Nüsser and Baghel, “The Emergence of the Cryoscape,” 138.

⁸⁰⁸ When 12% of the Larsen C ice shelf broke off in July 2017, this event was also heavily covered by the media. Goodell, “The Larsen C Crack-Up.”

debates about Antarctic wilderness and resources through the 1980s and 1990s, outlining how the Madrid Protocol to the Antarctic Treaty came about. A brief history of the global environmental movement helps to situate Antarctic developments in a wider context, while an exploration of ‘ice-washing’ provides a useful paradigm through which to examine examples of Antarctic advertisements. A series of Antarctic advertisements, published between 1988 and 2011, are then analysed to track the changing connotations of ice. While Antarctic imagery can be readily used to communicate a message about environmentally friendly behaviour, the same imagery can be subverted in order to challenge the *status quo* and the lens of fragility and protection. The theme of fragility in Antarctic advertisements is multifaceted and mutable.

The South: Distinctly Fragile

In the age of the Anthropocene, it is not just Antarctica that is seen as fragile; rather, human influence on the world has become visible on a global geological scale. The term Anthropocene was popularised in 2000, by ecologist Eugene F. Stoermer and atmospheric chemist Paul Crutzen, who perceived that, in light of recent human actions, “mankind will remain a major environmental force for many millennia.”⁸⁰⁹ The Anthropocene is quite literally the age of the human – a time when humans have made such an impact on the earth’s climate and geology that this can be seen in the geological record. While there is still debate as to when the Anthropocene began,⁸¹⁰ it has been described as “the greatest challenge currently facing life on earth.”⁸¹¹ It is within the context of global discussions of the Anthropocene that the analysis in this chapter is situated.

The concept of the Anthropocene has come to offer a fertile way of exploring human interactions with the planet for those within both scientific and humanities disciplines. In 2011 geologist Jan Zalasiewicz wrote how the term

⁸⁰⁹ Crutzen, “Geology of Mankind,” 23.

⁸¹⁰ Suggestions range from the latter part of the eighteenth century when industrialisation began, through to the 1950s. Crutzen and Stoermer, “Have we entered the Anthropocene?”

⁸¹¹ Saldanha and Stark, “A New Earth,” 440.

Anthropocene raises “questions of the scale, magnitude and significance of this environmental change,”⁸¹² while Deleuze scholars Arun Saldanha and Hannah Stark detail how the philosopher’s approach can be used to better understand the Anthropocene’s effects. Those effects include “ocean acidification, deforestation, the loss of species diversity through extinction, changes to the earth’s surface due to population migration and alterations to geomorphology,”⁸¹³ as well as anthropogenic climate change. It is the latter that comes to the fore most often when conceptualising Antarctica. A May 2016 workshop entitled “Antarctica in/and the Anthropocene” included “insightful presentations discussing how Antarctica is not isolated and is also affected by the impacts of global ecosystems changes.”⁸¹⁴ The concept of being embedded in a global system is central to the idea of Antarctica as a fragile environment; activities undertaken by humans in far-away places can nevertheless have lasting impacts on the polar regions.

When it comes to viewing the far south, Marcus Nüsser and Ravi Baghel’s 2014 concept of the “cryoscape” offers a useful lens. While they propose the term cryoscape as “a conceptual framework to analyse the emergence of Himalayan glaciers in the context of a dynamic, globally imagined mediascape,”⁸¹⁵ the concept can also be applied to southern continent, where the icy landscape became known through the media (as discussed in Chapter 1). In “The Emergence of the Cryoscape,” the authors explain how “[g]laciers stand at the intersection of multiple strands of environmental knowledge: scientific, cultural, temporal, spatial and political.”⁸¹⁶ Glaciers have become imbued with meaning, and in the case of the African glaciers on Mt Kenya and Kilimanjaro, their “symbolic meaning has changed over time from objects of colonial conquest to resonant icons of global warming.”⁸¹⁷ Such transitions are echoed in visions of the ice in the far south – once thought of as a blank space for heroes to traverse and conquer, today the same Antarctic landscapes are used to symbolise fragility,

⁸¹² Zalasiewicz et al, “The Anthropocene,” 835.

⁸¹³ Saldanha and Stark, “A New Earth,” 440.

⁸¹⁴ Salazar, “Antarctica in/and the Anthropocene.”

⁸¹⁵ Nüsser and Baghel, “The Emergence of the Cryoscape,” 138.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid., 142.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid., 143.

and stand in for climate change on a global scale. Nüsser and Baghel conclude that

developing an understanding of cryoscapes is no less important than investigations of the cryosphere, because it is the meaning given to glaciers that affects human responses to these changes.⁸¹⁸

Replace “glaciers” with “Antarctica,” and the above statement still holds true. It also holds particular resonance for this study; analysing advertisements can help to reveal the meaning attributed to glaciers and ice in an Antarctic context. Treating Antarctica as a cryoscape opens the door for substantial humanities research, as the model clearly illustrates how humans are involved in the production of knowledge, place and meaning.

When dealing with large-scale glaciers and icescapes, it can often be difficult to differentiate between north and south polar scenes. While Williamson asserts “the image of a polar bear perched on an ice floe has surely become the symbol of global warming,”⁸¹⁹ in the absence of captions or megafauna markers like penguins (south) or polar bears (north), much imagery could be sourced from either end of the earth. In the context of the fragility theme, the specific pole is not so important. Instead, the symbolism associated with ice is paramount. Kathryn Yusoff and Jennifer Gabrys claim “iconic objects and images have been crucial to the narrative of climate change in the popular imagination.”⁸²⁰ The same symbolism has been applied to both polar regions, and to the wider cryosphere, including glaciers in other parts of the world, such as the Himalayas (also known as the third pole). Indeed, the image of melting ice (exemplified by the Larsen B collapse) has become “a pervasive and nearly predictable icon of climate change, signaling catastrophe and global meltdown.”⁸²¹ The repetition of symbolic vocabulary links – and at times conflates – Antarctica with other frozen places. Nevertheless, these associations have a particularly significant resonance in the context of the south. Antarctica is a continent of snow, ice and glaciers, so the changing associations of this imagery reflect changing associations with the

⁸¹⁸ Ibid., 156.

⁸¹⁹ Williamson, “Unfreezing the Truth.”

⁸²⁰ Yusoff and Gabrys, “Climate Change and the Imagination,” 521.

⁸²¹ Gabrys and Yusoff, “Arts, Sciences and Climate Change,” 2.

place as a whole. Antarctica's ice-caps also hold the vast majority of the planet's frozen water (~90%) so their collapse would increase sea levels on a scale far greater than anything in the Arctic or Himalayas could. While all of the cryosphere carries connotations of fragility, the idea is particularly significant in the far south.

Antarctica has stronger associations with purity and fragility than other cryoscapes for a range of reasons; Antarctica's exceptional circumstances – its unowned status, lack of indigenous people, remoteness and short human history – contribute to its framing as more vulnerable. In recent years, the corrupting threat has been from anthropogenic climate change. With atmospheric carbon dioxide concentrations reaching unprecedented levels,⁸²² the greenhouse effect is becoming ever stronger, leading to increasing temperatures in the atmosphere and the ocean. Climatologist Dr Gavin Schmidt, from NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies, warns "we are a society that has inadvertently chosen the double-black diamond run without having learned to ski first. It will be a bumpy ride."⁸²³ Such an analogy introduces ideas of danger that sit alongside those of fragility: the global climate system is both under threat as a result of anthropogenic activity, and poses a threat to humans.

Antarctica may be out of sight for many, but it can no longer be put out of mind. Climate change has an impact upon ice, ocean, and beyond as the cryosphere acts as "a fundamental control on the physical, biological and social environment over a large part of the Earth's surface."⁸²⁴ Most people access Antarctica through the mediation of news images, documentaries, social media, and advertising – and when the dominant imagery consists of calving icebergs and melting ice, this helps to frame Antarctica as a fragile place, ripe for the melting. Changes in the far south contribute to feedback loops with implications for places much further afield; sea-level rise and changes in ocean circulation are but two areas "where

⁸²² In March 2015, the monthly global average concentration of CO₂ in the atmosphere surpassed 400 parts per million, bringing the concentrations into unprecedented territory. See Allen, "Greenhouse Gas Benchmark."

⁸²³ NASA, "NASA Scientists React."

⁸²⁴ Vaughan et al, "Observations: Cryosphere," 319.

the processes in Antarctica are fundamentally important globally.”⁸²⁵ This also has an impact upon how Antarctica is viewed, as the continent transitions from being somewhere remote and invisible to being seen as part of the global climate system. Indeed, this “melting ice makes the political personal by making tangible the effects of climate change,”⁸²⁶ with Antarctic change being experienced as rising sea levels along far away coastlines. At the same time, climate change “is being reimagined as an ethical, societal, and cultural problem that poses new questions and reconfigures the geographic imaginaries of the world.”⁸²⁷ As a result of this reimagining, Antarctic has come to play a much more dominant role as a symbol for climate change, for fragility, and for the threat of melting ice.

Resources and Wilderness in the Far South

Antarctica has not always been viewed as a fragile place; it has also been cast as a place for commerce (see Introduction), and acted as the flashpoint for debates over environmental values. During the 1980s, there was both a growing push for exploitation of Antarctica for the benefit of all nations, and a counter push to see the continent set aside as a World Park. Anxieties over the imminent use of mineral resources, including chromium, nickel, gold and coal,⁸²⁸ led to the drafting of the Convention on the Regulation of Antarctic Mineral Resource Activities (CRAMRA).⁸²⁹ Concluded on 2 June 1988, CRAMRA was intended to provide a framework for the future extraction of such resources whilst ensuring “that Antarctic mineral resource activities, should they occur, are compatible with scientific investigation in Antarctica and other legitimate uses of Antarctica”⁸³⁰ and noting “the unique ecological, scientific and wilderness value of Antarctica and the importance of Antarctica to the global environment.”⁸³¹ The

⁸²⁵ Rodger, “Antarctica,” 324.

⁸²⁶ Nielsen, “The Wide White Stage,” 100.

⁸²⁷ Yusoff and Gabrys, “Climate Change and the Imagination,” 517.

⁸²⁸ Joyner, “The Evolving Minerals Regime for Antarctica,” 131. While their presence is known, the accessibility and commercial viability of such minerals is another question.

⁸²⁹ Convention on the Regulation of Antarctic Mineral Resource Activities (CRAMRA). This instrument has not entered into force, having been abandoned in favour of the Madrid Protocol.

⁸³⁰ Convention on the Regulation of Antarctic Mineral Resource Activities (CRAMRA). Preamble.

⁸³¹ Ibid.

same anxieties that led to the initial discussions, however, meant that the convention was never ratified.

As a result of both growing political interest and publicised activism on the ice (the Greenpeace World Park Base 1987–1992 is one example),⁸³² more people became aware of the importance of the continent.⁸³³ Writing in 1991 about his trek across Antarctica, explorer Reinhold Messner articulated his desire “to demonstrate the wilderness of Antarctica, its beauty [and] to point to the problems of its development, exploitation and division.”⁸³⁴ At the time, he saw the desire to mine mineral resources as the greatest threat to Antarctica, claiming “so long as no one really knows the commercial value of the continent, a world park can still be enforced.”⁸³⁵ There had by this time been multiple calls to establish a World Park in Antarctica, administered by all nations rather than the Antarctic Treaty System. This World Park concept was championed by the Antarctic and Southern Ocean Coalition (ASOC), which formed as an amalgamation of over 200 environmental groups including high profile organisations such as Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund.⁸³⁶ At the same time, political support for an alternative Antarctic governing system was being voiced, spearheaded by developing nations unhappy with the *status quo*. This faction wanted to see Antarctic resources used “for the benefit of all mankind,”⁸³⁷ rather than a privileged few. In a 1982 speech to the United Nations General Assembly, Malaysian Prime Minister Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad argued that the existing Antarctic Treaty System privileged a small number of states, and suggested that the United Nations should take over the administration of the continent.⁸³⁸

⁸³² Greenpeace, “World Park Antarctica.”

⁸³³ Orheim, “Managing the Frozen Commons,” 287.

⁸³⁴ Messner, *Antarctica*, 35.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁸³⁶ Day, *Antarctica*, 518.

⁸³⁷ *Ibid.*, 517. The terminology “for the benefit of all mankind” draws upon the concept that certain resources are the “common heritage of mankind.” This notion forms the basis of Part XI of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and appears in the 1962 *Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space*.

⁸³⁸ Gilbert, “A Continent for Peace and Science,” 348. Antarctica continues to be governed by the Antarctic Treaty System.

While Antarctica remained a hot topic at the UN for the next 20 years,⁸³⁹ the question of resource extraction was settled much more quickly. By 1988 a convention that would allow mining under strict conditions was not deemed compatible with the environmental values of public opinion, particularly in Australia and France.⁸⁴⁰ Instead, fears of resource exploitation and environmental degradation led to the drafting and signing of the Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty (Madrid Protocol) in 1991. The Madrid Protocol, which came into force on 14 January 1998, includes a prohibition on mineral resource activities, except scientific research (Article 7), unless and until any review of the Protocol is undertaken and a new convention to permit mining is established and in force. Despite the fact that “both the Treaty and the Environmental Protocol have no expiry date, but can be modified at any time under certain voting conditions,”⁸⁴¹ the popular belief that the Antarctic Treaty and/or the Madrid Protocol expires in 2048 continues to circulate. This misconception is fed by projects such as Robert Swan’s “2041.com” which features a “Countdown to 2041 – Until the re-negotiation of moratorium on mining in Antarctica” on its website.⁸⁴² The 2041 date refers to the 50-year anniversary of the signing Madrid Protocol, not 50 years of the instrument being in force (a more accurate name for Swan’s initiative would therefore be 2048.com). The prohibition (not a mere moratorium) will remain in place unless another instrument (such as CRAMRA) is introduced to regulate mineral resource activity. Neil Gilbert and Alan Hemmings are therefore emphatic in their article on “Antarctic Mythbusting”: “The mining ban does not expire! It has no end-date! (Are we clear on that?)”⁸⁴³ That the expiration myth is all-pervasive seems to suggest a will to see Antarctic governance frameworks as more fragile than they are, adding a further dimension to the framing of Antarctica as vulnerable.

⁸³⁹ Ibid., 348.

⁸⁴⁰ British Antarctic Survey, “Mining.”

⁸⁴¹ Gilbert and Hemmings, “Antarctic Mythbusting,” 29.

⁸⁴² 2041, “The Vision.”

⁸⁴³ Gilbert and Hemmings, “Antarctic Mythbusting,” 29.

The Madrid Protocol signaled a shift in attitudes towards environmental protection, and has continued to shape the way Antarctica as a continent has been viewed since. Article 2, for instance, designates Antarctica as a “natural reserve, devoted to peace and science.”⁸⁴⁴ Twenty years after the Protocol came into force, the continent has become inextricably linked with both scientific activity and environmental protection. Gone are the days of pushing rubbish out onto the sea ice to float away,⁸⁴⁵ or of leaving old bases and machinery to be claimed by the ice. Instead, Antarctica is cast as a place that has “wilderness and aesthetic values,”⁸⁴⁶ where adverse impacts on both the environment and the “dependent and associated ecosystems”⁸⁴⁷ are to be avoided. Annexes on environmental impact assessment (Annex I), waste disposal (Annex III), marine pollution (Annex IV), and protected areas (Annex V) all relate to the protection of the Antarctic environment, with each annex representing a different concern. The environmental principles outlined by the Madrid Protocol continue to remain prominent, guiding activities in the Antarctic today. Further, Article 3 recognises that research being undertaken in Antarctica is “essential to understanding the global environment.”⁸⁴⁸ This recognition of Antarctica’s place in the world marks an important shift; the continent was no longer a far away blank space with little bearing upon people’s everyday lives. Instead, it came to be seen as part of a global climate system, and the rhetoric around that system was one of protection.

Global Environmental Movements: Media and Conservation

The changing attitudes towards Antarctica were also reflected in (and in many respects a product of) changing values within the world environmental context. Environmentalism as a movement had its roots in romantic ideals, with Henry David Thoreau, Thomas Jefferson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson providing the

⁸⁴⁴ The Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty, Article 2.

⁸⁴⁵ Australian Antarctic Division, “Waste Management.”

⁸⁴⁶ The Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty, Article 3.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid., Article 3.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid., Article 3.

philosophical foundations.⁸⁴⁹ During the late 1800s, the conservation movement was led by prominent figures such as John Muir, who founded the Sierra Club, an organisation that continues to advocate for protection of the environment under the slogan “explore, enjoy, and protect the planet.”⁸⁵⁰ The Earth Day demonstrations of 1970, which followed on from a large oil spill in Santa Barbara, California in 1969, brought together people who were concerned about oil spills, toxic dumps, pesticides, and the loss of wilderness areas, providing a focus for their common values. The demonstrations that took place across the United States on April 22, 1970 were seen by some to mark “the birth of the modern environmental movement.”⁸⁵¹ This new environmentalism combined conservation ideas of Thoreau and Muir with lobbying, advertising, letter-writing campaigns, reaching and mobilising a wider popular audience than in earlier times. The news media played an important role in communicating information about the demonstrations to a mass audience, and in creating public awareness, but not all outlets were sympathetic to the cause. While environmentalism and the media were intertwined much like the media and exploration at the turn of the century, the relationships took different forms, with critical distance a key factor.

Environmental groups were also becoming more active in other nations; Greenpeace was founded in Canada in 1971, with the aim of bearing witness to the US’s nuclear testing in Amchitka, off the coast of Alaska,⁸⁵² while in Australia the United Tasmania Group became the first “green” political party to run for election in 1972.⁸⁵³ Concern for the environment on a worldwide level led to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (5–16 June 1972), which was an important milestone for environmental politics. Principle 2 of the Declaration of the United Nations Conventions on the Human Environment states that

⁸⁴⁹ Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, Online. s.v. “Environmentalism.”

⁸⁵⁰ Sierra Club, “Explore, Enjoy and Protect the Planet.”

⁸⁵¹ Earth Day Network, “The History of Earth Day.”

⁸⁵² Greenpeace, “Questions About Greenpeace.”

⁸⁵³ Australian Greens, “The Story of the Australian Greens.”

The natural resources of the earth, including the air, water, land, flora and fauna and especially representative samples of natural ecosystems, must be safeguarded for the benefit of present and future generations through careful planning or management, as appropriate.⁸⁵⁴

These conservation ideals were further developed over the coming decades, with the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea signed in December 1982;⁸⁵⁵ the Montreal Protocol, aimed at phasing out chlorofluorocarbons that were damaging the ozone layer, signed in 1987;⁸⁵⁶ and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) formed in 1988.⁸⁵⁷ Environmental awareness was developing at a local scale as well as the international scale, evidenced by the emergence of grassroots groups like The Wilderness Society in Australia (founded 1976),⁸⁵⁸ and “Earth First!” in the US (1979).⁸⁵⁹ As environmental consciousness and consumer awareness⁸⁶⁰ grew throughout the 1980s, so too did the potential for capitalising on this care. The “move to being seen as Green and environmentally friendly”⁸⁶¹ picked up considerable corporate interest during the early years of the twenty-first century, and ‘green’ alternatives became ever more lucrative as a marketing strategy. As a result, these changing environmental values were also reflected in advertising campaigns.

Money in Being Green: Green-washing Consumers

Projecting an environmentally friendly image can help a business protect its image on a scale that far outweighs any protection offered to the environment. In 2002 Meister and Japp asserted that “when nature is defined as a commodity for consumption it becomes, in a capitalist society, culturally significant.”⁸⁶² As

⁸⁵⁴ Declaration of the United Nations Conventions on the Human Environment, Principle 2.

⁸⁵⁵ The preamble of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea recognises the need to promote “the study, protection and preservation of the marine environment.”

⁸⁵⁶ United Nations Environment Programme, “The Montreal Protocol.”

⁸⁵⁷ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. “History.”

⁸⁵⁸ The Wilderness Society, “Graziers and Conservationists.”

⁸⁵⁹ Earth First, *About Earth First!*

⁸⁶⁰ Banerjee, Gulas, and Iyer, “Shades of Green,” 22.

⁸⁶¹ West, Ford and Ibrahim, *Strategic Marketing*, 450.

⁸⁶² Meister and Japp, *EnviroPOP*, 2.

Richard Fletcher and Heather Crawford put it, “there are opportunities caused by environmental pollution itself.”⁸⁶³ In some cases, product lines have been modified to appeal to environmentally conscious consumers – by employing solar power or offsetting production by carbon credits.⁸⁶⁴ Targeting the “increasing global segment that values environmentalism”⁸⁶⁵ – including Generation Y – could, according to Fletcher and Crawford,

take the form of creating new products for global distribution that are environmentally friendly (e.g. The Body Shop, long-life bank notes) or that contain environmentally friendly inputs (e.g. solar energy drives) and provide services to cater to the environmentally conscious (e.g. ecotourism).⁸⁶⁶

Within banking circles, the push towards green alternatives saw the emergence of carbon neutral credit cards,⁸⁶⁷ while other organisations fostered “collaborations with business-friendly environmental groups”⁸⁶⁸ such as the Nature Conservancy, Conservation International, and WWF. Growing environmental interest also created opportunities to invest “in products and technology that will reduce further environmental problems or will clean up existing environmental problems,”⁸⁶⁹ and – more importantly – to highlight this investment via (largely anthropocentric)⁸⁷⁰ advertising campaigns. As the clothing company Diesel put it, “green is the new black.”⁸⁷¹ By the turn of the twenty-first century, green advertising had well and truly come of age.

The term ‘green wash’ derives from whitewash; if whitewash is the “coordinated attempt to hide unpleasant facts, especially in a political context,”⁸⁷² then green wash is the attempt to hide or misrepresent information in an environmental

⁸⁶³ Fletcher and Crawford, *Marketing*, 208.

⁸⁶⁴ Pearce, *Green Wash*, 241.

⁸⁶⁵ Fletcher and Crawford, *Marketing*, 208.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁸⁶⁷ Pearce, *Green Wash*, 14.

⁸⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁶⁹ Fletcher and Crawford, *Marketing*, 208.

⁸⁷⁰ Meister and Japp, *Enviropop*, 6.

⁸⁷¹ Pearce, *Green Wash*, 78.

⁸⁷² Greenwashing Index, “About Greenwashing.”

context.⁸⁷³ Green wash can take many forms, from misleading with words or images, to making vague or exaggerated claims, to omitting important information to make a brand or product seem more environmentally friendly than it is.⁸⁷⁴ In *Green Wash: Big Brands and Carbon Scams*, Guy Pearse highlights “the gulf between the green revolution being advertised and the progress actually occurring.”⁸⁷⁵ Of great concern for Pearse is disconnect between the supply chain emissions of big businesses,⁸⁷⁶ and the ‘green’ advertising associated with the same brands. After outlining and interrogating the veracity of a range of common claims made by those in sectors such as fashion, fast food, banking, and the media, Pearse ends his book by presenting a tongue-in-cheek pull-out “pocket guide to greenwashing.” This section amalgamates the common actions taken by businesses in the book, listing suggestions that can make a company appear greener without actually taking much action. These include getting a new logo (coloured green, or featuring a leaf or a windmill); putting a company executive on the board of an independent environmental group; offering voluntary schemes for customers to offset their carbon; and switching off for Earth Hour.⁸⁷⁷ When it comes to public image, however, “the quickest option, which again avoids advertising regulation by making no claims at all, is to toss a few green images into the mix.”⁸⁷⁸ Replace those green images of leaves and trees with glaciers and icebergs, and the implied environmental message remains just as strong.

‘Ice-washing’ occurs when an environmental message is conveyed or suggested via images of glaciers and the cryosphere at large – cue polar bears, penguins, and calving icebergs. In a 2010 “Dialogues with Tomorrow” address, Williamson claimed that “climate change as represented through the image of ice [is] ... now

⁸⁷³ Although the term carries negative connotations, green wash is not seen in a negative light by all; Todd Sampson states “I actually think Greenwash is a good thing. Some action has to be better than no action, even if it is a largely symbolic action, an awareness-growing thing.” Quoted in Pearse, *Green Wash*, 68.

⁸⁷⁴ Greenwashing Index, “About Greenwashing”

⁸⁷⁵ Pearse, *Green Wash*, 246.

⁸⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

embedded in our shared and individual imaginations.”⁸⁷⁹ She went on to explore why this can be problematic: much as the universal ‘no smoking’ symbol includes a lit cigarette, the potential absence of glaciers and icecaps cannot be represented “except through their presence.”⁸⁸⁰ This can pose an issue for activists trying to convince their peers that climate change (or global warming, as it was known for much of the 2000s) is a pressing concern, and it can draw attention away from other, more immediate impacts on people in more populated regions. Nevertheless, Williamson reveals how “we live in an image culture full of ice-scapes and snow scenes and these pop up whenever anything to do with climate change is addressed.”⁸⁸¹ In many cases, the icescape is Antarctic. Indeed, Glasberg has claimed that the continent has now come to function as “a sentimental object of anthropocentric panic.”⁸⁸² In the context of Antarctic advertising, neither the wider cultural uses of such scenes, nor the ice-washing dimension of advertisements that feature strongly symbolic icy imagery, can be ignored.

There are several issues associated with employing polar imagery for commercial purposes. Firstly, the aim of advertising is to promote consumption. Consumerism (and increased consumption), however, is one of the major factors behind environmental problems such as climate change.⁸⁸³ Advertisements that exhort consumers to buy a particular product in order to save the environment are rarely self-reflexive about their own role in environmental damage. Environmentally conscious consumers are not immune to these contradictions either. Paul Simpson-Housley has written how “sometimes the cognitive and affective components (of a perception) clash”⁸⁸⁴ – one may be drawn in by polar imagery despite knowing that its visual promise of protection may not be fulfilled, just as one may know the fire pollutes, but still enjoy its warm glow. Secondly, there are particular issues inherent in using snow and ice to represent

⁸⁷⁹ Williamson, “Unfreezing the Truth.”

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸⁸² Glasberg, “Living Ice,” 222.

⁸⁸³ Mayell, “As Consumerism Spreads, Earth Suffers.”

⁸⁸⁴ Simpson-Housley, *Antarctica*, xv.

climate change, particularly change that manifests as warming. As Williamson has noted:

We see pictures of coldness, not heat, of glaciers, not droughts. Whatever the logical reason for these images, their constant presence, the cultural ubiquity of these frozen landscapes, functions as an imaginative denial of the real nature of climate change, and the situation faced by large parts of humanity today.⁸⁸⁵

In this case, the symbolic power of snow and ice renders invisible contemporary environmental issues in other parts of the globe. Such examples show that employing icy imagery in order to drive home an environmental message is not straightforward. As the cryosphere has entered into more and more conversations, it has attracted a range of symbolic meanings. As Nüsser and Baghel put it, “glaciers do not *just* melt; they are imbued with cultural, scientific, political and aesthetic meanings.”⁸⁸⁶ Ice is not just ice – rather, it carries with it a range of cultural connotations, specific to each time and place in which the imagery appears.

Showcasing Ice: Shifting Connotations of Glacial Imagery

In February 1962, the oil refining company Humble bought a double page advertising spread in *Life* magazine that showcased a landscape photograph of Alaska’s Taku glacier and its serracs in all their splendour (Figure 7.2). The “river of ice stretching 270 square miles,” which took up the top three quarters of the spread, was designed to catch the viewer’s eye and impress them with the scale of the natural feature. The accompanying text, in turn, was designed to impress upon the reader the huge scale of Humble’s operations. The tagline? “Each day Humble supplies enough energy to melt 7 million tons of glacier!” (Figure 7.2). In the context of the twenty-first century, the advertisement is highly ironic: companies are more likely to hide, rather than boast about, their contribution to sea-level rise. The image of melting ice has become “a pervasive and nearly

⁸⁸⁵ Williamson, “Unfreezing the Truth.”

⁸⁸⁶ Nüsser and Baghel, “The Emergence of the Cryoscape,” 150.

predictable icon of climate change, signaling catastrophe and global meltdown.”⁸⁸⁷ Glaciers are often used to represent climate change, with photographs of retreating glaciers a prime example of the imagery used “to provide visual ‘proof’ that climate change is taking place.”⁸⁸⁸ The Humble glacier advertisement is a prime example of how the cultural connotations of certain images can change drastically over time.

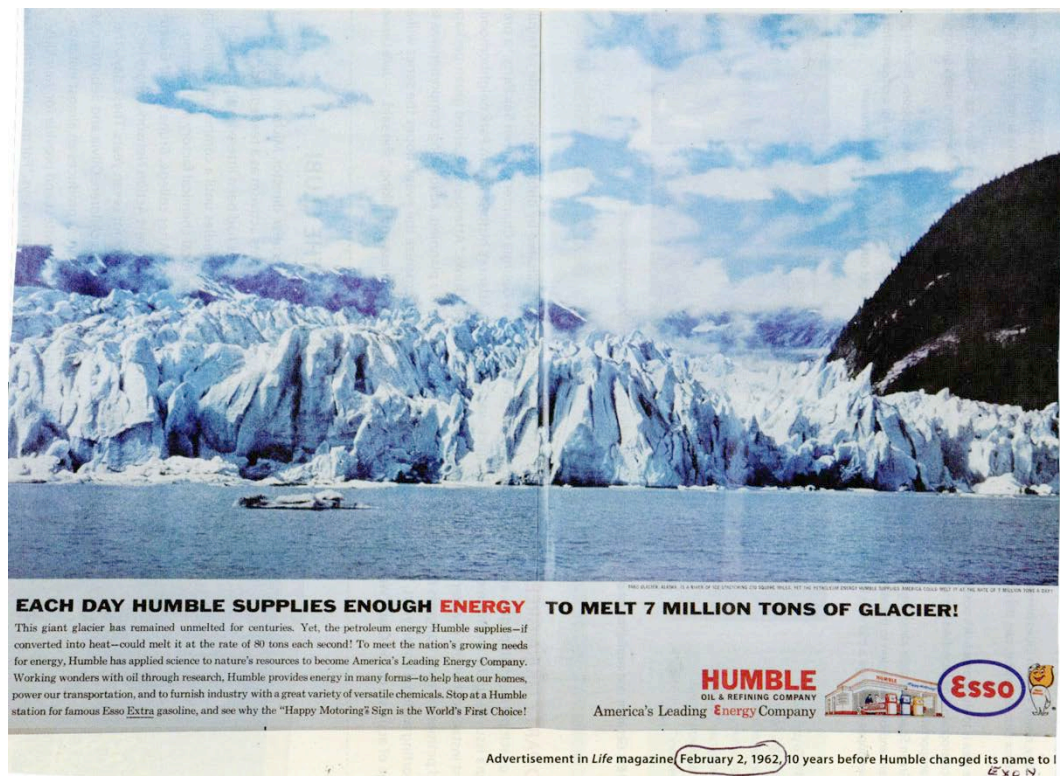


Figure 7.2: Double page Humble advertisement with Taku Glacier in the Arctic, 1962 (Source: Life, 2 February 1962)

Examining the body text of the 1962 Humble advertisement reveals that the intended message is one of progress, civilisation, and the taming of nature’s resources for human use. The text explains that “Humble has applied science to nature’s resources to become America’s Leading Energy Company,” and uses the “giant glacier” to demonstrate just how much energy they are able to produce – enough to melt the pictured glacier “at the rate of 80 tons each second!” (Figure

⁸⁸⁷ Gabrys and Yusoff, “Climate Change and the Imagination,” 2.

⁸⁸⁸ Carvalho, “Reporting the Climate Change Crisis,” 489.

7.2). The advertisement accentuates the positive aspects of a burgeoning energy sector, creating links to the lives of everyday people: oil provides energy “to help heat our homes, power our transportation, and to furnish industry with a great variety of versatile chemicals” (Figure 7.2). The natural environment – here, in the form of a glacier – is used to contrast against the comforts of modern society. According to the rhetoric of the 1962 advertisement, nature provides few benefits for people in its raw form, but when science is applied and natural resources such as oil and gas extracted from nature, then housing, transportation and industry all benefit. The anthropocentric viewpoint is taken for granted, and the natural environment seen primarily as a resource for humans. This advertisement is a prime illustration of the cultural significance of glaciers in 1962, and also provides an ideal opening to discuss the changing perceptions of and values associated with frozen landscapes.



Figure 7.3: Panasonic NR-B30FG1-WB Refrigerator User Manual, 2009 (Source: Manuals Online and Figure 7.4: Panasonic fridge poster featuring glacial imagery, 2009 (Source: Williamson, “Unfreezing the Truth”)

The same kind of icy imagery that features in the Humble advertisement has appeared in a range of other advertisements over the intervening decades. More recently, the presence of a glacier has been used to signal energy efficiency and – by virtue of lower electricity usage – environmental protection. A Panasonic fridge advertisement (Figure 7.4) from April 2009 (similar to the cover of the appliance manual, Figure 7.3) is a case in point.⁸⁸⁹ Two thirds of the advertisement is dominated by an image of a glacier face, out of which a large silver fridge is emerging. The caption of the image reads “Panasonic Technology: Fighting Global Warming,” while a small green leaf-shaped symbol in the bottom left of the advertisement carries the slogan “eco ideas.” The environmental theme established by the dominant visual elements is further supported in the main body text of the advertisement: the fridge “holds the cold better and dramatically reduces energy consumption, preserving both our Earth and the food we enjoy... Because saving the environment matters” (Figure 7.4).

Here the icy backdrop serves several functions. First, ice is cold, and the fridge is used to chill food. More importantly, the ice is used to represent an environment that is under threat, and needs protection. The suggestion is that by buying this fridge, which uses modern technology and superior insulation, consumers will end up using less electricity to run the appliance, thus *preventing* the unnecessary melt of icescapes such as the one pictured. This message is reinforced by language use – by buying the fridge, consumers are also “saving the environment” and “fighting global warming.” Other similar fridge advertisements appeared around the same time – Siemens employed stock imagery of icebergs in the Arctic alongside the KG49NP3GB Fridge Freezer unit and the text “one of the most energy efficient fridge freezers in the world.”⁸⁹⁰ These examples illustrate both how the connotations of imagery can change drastically over time as the audience’s values shift, and how “climate change has been commodified.”⁸⁹¹ Instead of ice being used to boast about energy consumption,

⁸⁸⁹ Versions of this advertisement appeared in the UK and in France (A2009c), while the same glacial imagery was employed on the cover of the Panasonic Inverter Fridge Manual in Spring 2009 – complete with the tagline “Energy Saving Refrigerators.”

⁸⁹⁰ For more on this advertisement, see Williamson, “Unfreezing the Truth.”

⁸⁹¹ Carvalho, “Reporting the Climate Change Crisis,” 491.

as in the Humble advertisement, the same visual elements are used in the fridge example to communicate the opposite message.



Figure 7.5: WWF “Help Save the Fridge” advertisement, 2011 (Source: WWF International, “Ads for WWF’s 50th Anniversary”)

In previous examples Antarctica was considered to be *like* a fridge – sharing its qualities – but in a 2011 World Wildlife Campaign (WWF) the polar regions *become* the world’s “fridge” (Figure 7.5). This advertisement, created as part of a campaign celebrating 50 years of the organisation,⁸⁹² suggests a perversely anthropocentric viewpoint where the Poles act as a giant appliance for humanity; an icy landscape was overlain with the text “Help save the fridge.” This advertisement was part of a wider campaign that included calls to “save the sandwich” (tuna) and “save the kitchen” (rainforests). The idea of the campaign was that humans and the natural environment are closely connected. By associating wildlife and wilderness imagery with domestic language and concepts (e.g. fridge, kitchen), WWF created links between the everyday lives of the audience, and the faraway locations depicted. The most immediate link

⁸⁹² WWF International, “Ads for WWF’s 50th Anniversary.”

between the text and image in this advertisement is that of temperature – a cold fridge provides an ideal analogy for the cold environments of the globe. By the time the advertisement appeared, however, the association between polar regions and climate change was well established, thanks to other advertisements, and imagery in the media at large. As Williamson puts it, “imagery circulating in our societies has a profound effect on our ability to grasp the world as it is, and imagine how it might be.”⁸⁹³ The creators of the WWF campaign were well aware of this, and of the environmental connotations associated with icescape imagery. A polar environment is thus used to evoke ideas of coldness, purity, protection, and the final frontier, with such associations underpinning the call to action.

While the advertisements examined in this section have featured generic icescapes, they have important implications for how Antarctica is viewed. As the continent of ice, Antarctica has been used to embody many environmental concerns. Indeed, as climate change has become a major preoccupation in the consciousness of the Western world, Antarctica has been used to stand in for a global climate system that is under threat. Advertisements for fridges in the above section represent a prime example of ice-washing in action, as the frozen landscape is put to work for ideological purposes, and to suggest that the product being sold is environmentally friendly. The preoccupation in these advertisements with climate change and protecting the cryosphere contrasts with the Humble example, and reflects both changing values and a growing environmental concern about the poles in the age of climate change. The following section builds on these established attitudes to ice, revealing how Antarctica has been framed as the ultimate cryoscape, the last wilderness, and as the poster child for messages relating to climate change.

⁸⁹³ Williamson, “Unfreezing the Truth.”

Saving Ice: Antarctica and the Rhetoric of Protection

In 2002, the robotics and automated technology company⁸⁹⁴ ABB's global campaign featured several dozen Adélie penguins on a large iceberg, and asked: "Can you stop 50 million tons of CO₂ from happening?"⁸⁹⁵ The campaign was repeated in 2005,⁸⁹⁶ with the Adélies replaced by a close-up row of King penguins on the ice, and updated numbers (68 million tons, up from 50 million tons⁸⁹⁷) (Figure 7.6). This change may relate to the photogenic golden markings of King penguins, but the fact they are depicted walking in a line also suggests a reference to the popular film from the same year, *March of the Penguins* (the Emperor penguins in that film are physically very similar to Kings, and quite different from Adélies). In 2008 the same King penguins made a reappearance in the MIT European Career Fair booklet,⁸⁹⁸ with the number of tons of CO₂ in question boosted up to 100 million tons.⁸⁹⁹ The repeated reprisal of the campaign suggests a positive reception, while the fact that the second two examples zoom in on the penguins suggests that these birds are effective at creating meaning in the advertisement. These penguins are not just penguins – rather, they embody an environmental message that has relevance from the poles to the job fairs of Europe.

⁸⁹⁴ ABB is a Swiss multinational corporation, founded in 1988, with headquarters in Zürich, Switzerland.

⁸⁹⁵ Hicks, "Sustainability." CO₂ refers to the atmospheric gas carbon dioxide.

⁸⁹⁶ ABB advertisement, "Cut 68 Million Tons of CO₂"

⁸⁹⁷ West, Ford, and Ibrahim, *Strategic Marketing*, 450.

⁸⁹⁸ ABB advertisement, "Cut 100 Million Tons of CO₂"

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid. The 2005 version included an apostrophe, reading "it's amazing what you save." In this trade context, environmental priorities are presented as a selling point, as a counterpoint against the technological imagery or people in other adverts in the booklet.

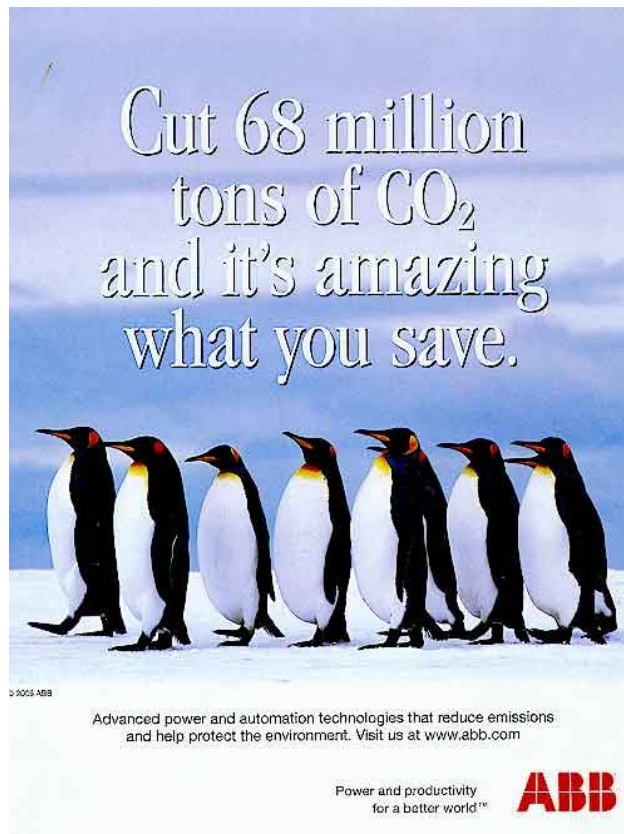


Figure 7.6: ABB advertisement featuring penguins, 2005 (Source: ABB Archives)

Penguins are often used to stand in for Antarctica. They are a recognisably southern hemisphere species, associated – thanks to countless photographs, cartoons, emojis, and other appearances in popular culture – with snow and ice. Even though these are King Penguins, which breed on the sub-Antarctic islands rather than the icy continent itself, they act as shorthand for Antarctica.⁹⁰⁰ Here, the penguins act on several levels of their “complex and contradictory symbolic repertoire.”⁹⁰¹ They are used to represent the mega fauna of Antarctica; to stand for the environment they live in and around; and to gesture towards the wider issue of climate change, which is often depicted using melting ice. That melting is related to emissions of CO₂ into the atmosphere; the advertisement assumes that readers are aware of the process of such emissions resulting in melting ice, and thus endangering wildlife. The text above the image, which refers to cutting

⁹⁰⁰ When it comes to polar scenes, penguins are often used as markers for the south, while polar bears indicate a northern setting.

⁹⁰¹ Leane and Pfenningwerth, “Marching on Thin Ice,” 40.

emissions, reinforces a metaphorical reading of the image where the penguins stand in for Antarctica as a whole.

ABB's penguin advertisements have been described as part of an "environmentally responsible campaign."⁹⁰² They appeared at a time when big businesses were beginning to see the value in projecting an eco-friendly image. The "amazing what you save" campaign was designed to highlight the company's new automated factory technology – "a variable-speed drive unit"⁹⁰³ – that allowed factories to slow the emissions put out during quieter production periods, thus "saving energy when the plant was not needed at full capacity production."⁹⁰⁴ The monetary savings were a prime selling point of the technology, with the variable-speed drives touted as "major energy savers, environmentally friendly and a wise investment."⁹⁰⁵ Environmental issues also translate back into cost when public opinion and the "reflected green glow"⁹⁰⁶ of an energy efficient line are factored in. If a particular product is seen as environmentally friendly, that has implications for the brand as a whole, because "all commercials for a product also advertise the brand."⁹⁰⁷ The appearance of a polar landscape in this advertisement therefore has wider implications for the company than simply serving to market a single variable-drive product – it creates an association between the ABB brand and environmental practices and imagery that endures far longer than the ephemeral advertisement itself.

The words "what you save" are pivotal to this ABB advertisement. Taken literally, the term 'save' is used in a monetary sense – by cutting 68 millions tons of CO₂, the costs associated with running a business will also fall. In the 2004 *ABB Review*, Akseli Savolainen explains that "as well as being a cost issue, energy efficiency is also an environmental one."⁹⁰⁸ Thanks to the juxtaposition of text and image, the term 'save' can be understood as referring to the penguins

⁹⁰² West, Ford and Ibrahim, *Strategic Marketing*, 450.

⁹⁰³ Ibid., 450.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., 450.

⁹⁰⁵ Savolainen, "Driving Towards a Better Future," 34.

⁹⁰⁶ Pearse, *Green Wash*, 18.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid., 37.

⁹⁰⁸ Savolainen, "Driving Towards a Better Future," 34.

themselves, creating a pun that invites environmental as well as economic connotations. Penguins have been put to use in a range of ways over the years, but are commonly used to “act as synecdoches for pristine nature.”⁹⁰⁹ When the penguins are used to stand in for Antarctica as a whole, with Antarctica in turn standing in for the world’s environmental systems, the question of what is being saved gains even more significance. As a solution to this problem, consumers are exhorted to buy ABB products, thereby reducing their carbon footprints and saving money, whilst “help[ing] protect the environment” (Figure 7.6). Antarctica functions as a backdrop to the ABB advertisement, but that backdrop brings salient environmental issues to mind. The advertisement therefore presents an earnest appeal to consumers that centres round the rhetoric of saving energy, saving money, saving penguins, and saving the polar environment.

How to Change to a Globe: Westpac and The Equator Principles

In 2003 Westpac released an icy advertisement,⁹¹⁰ celebrating its identity as the “first Australian Bank to sign the Equator Principles agreeing not to fund projects that endanger communities or the environment” (Figure 7.7). Created by advertising agency The Campaign Palace – who were “responsible for much of the advertising that has become part of Australia’s popular culture”⁹¹¹ – the advertisement features a single Adélie penguin atop an iceberg, with explanatory text and the company logo in the bottom right hand corner. In 2008 the same advertisement was reprised⁹¹² to coincide with both the Australian Emissions Trading Scheme⁹¹³ and Westpac’s Climate Change Position Statement.⁹¹⁴ The repeat use of such imagery speaks to the success of the earlier campaign, which

⁹⁰⁹ Leane and Pfenningwerth, “Marching on Thin Ice,” 30.

⁹¹⁰ This initial 2003 Advertisement was part of the wider “Building better lives for all Australians” campaign, run by The Campaign Palace. Sareff, “Campaign for Change,” 26.

⁹¹¹ McDonough and Egolf, *The Advertising Age Encyclopedia*, 252.

⁹¹² The campaign was rolled out “across a range of media, including television, newspapers and outdoor advertising.” Westpac Bank. *PACT: Sustainability and Community News*.

⁹¹³ Nielson, “Emissions.”

⁹¹⁴ Westpac, *Environment: Our environmental track record*.

“capitalized on environmentalism as an opportunity”⁹¹⁵ by “extolling the virtues of the ‘Equator Principles,’”⁹¹⁶ thus presenting Westpac as an environmentally friendly bank, with an active interest in reducing pollution. The Antarctic advertisement from this campaign is an ideal case study when analysing the connotations of polar imagery and their interactions with environmental themes like fragility, as the imagery is ripe with connotations and symbolism.



*Figure 7.7: Westpac advertisement to coincide with The Equator Principles, 2003/8
(Source: Westpac Advertisement, Australian Organic Market Report 2008, 9)*

The 2008 advertisement features the tagline “How many banks does it take to change a globe?” (Figure 7.7). This pun calls upon a history of jokes about

⁹¹⁵ Fletcher and Crawford, *International Marketing*, 208.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 208.

changing light bulbs⁹¹⁷ (known as 'globes' in Australia), but also carries more serious undertones.⁹¹⁸ In this case, the globe in question is the earth itself, a message reinforced by the answer provided – “All of them.” The change referred to is environmental, and this becomes clear when reading the fine print of the advertisement, which talks about both the Equator Principles and the UN Global Compact CEO Water Mandate. The Equator Principles, which were launched in Washington DC on 4 June 2003, are “a risk management framework... for determining, assessing and managing environmental and social risk in projects.”⁹¹⁹ They are adopted voluntarily by financial institutions, and apply environmental and social criteria to existing and future projects.⁹²⁰ In this case, Westpac used its involvement in the principles as a marketing tool, helping to cast the company in an environmentally friendly light.

In this Westpac campaign, environmental aims are closely tied to polar imagery, and ice plays an important role in communicating the advertisement's message. The portrait-oriented image features a single Adélie penguin perched atop an iceberg, with its head angled towards the ocean as if it is soon to take a plunge into the waters below. This penguin immediately marks the scene as being Antarctic. The fact that only a single penguin is depicted is also significant. Penguins are “often considered the epitome of uniformity,”⁹²¹ and shown in large groups, preparing to dive into the water one after another. The use of a single penguin in this instance suggests that it takes one (animal or corporation) to dive in first, before others can follow. This idea of leadership is reinforced visually in this advertisement by the use of an iceberg as the second visual element in the scene. Icebergs bring the ‘tip of the iceberg’ analogy to bear, suggesting that only a small part of the company's environmental activities are

⁹¹⁷ Queen, “How Many Lesbians Does It Take ...” 247. Lightbulb jokes present a recognisable, generic joke for many Americans and start by posing the question, “How many X does it take to change a lightbulb?”

⁹¹⁸ Lightbulbs themselves have a large environmental impact – Pearse notes that “worldwide, lighting generates around 1.9 billion tons of carbon dioxide each year – about three times as much as commercial aviation.” 61. Pearse, *Green Wash*, 61.

⁹¹⁹ Equator Principles, “About the Equator Principles.”

⁹²⁰ Ibid.

⁹²¹ Leane and Pfenningwerth, “Marching on Thin Ice,” 37.

outlined in the advertisement.⁹²² Two activities that make up the tip of the implied environmental iceberg are mentioned by name: as well as referring to the Equator Principles, the secondary advertisement text notes “Westpac is now also the first Australian bank to sign the UN Global Compact CEO Water Mandate to tackle the emerging global water crisis” (Figure 7.7).⁹²³ Reference to a water crisis makes the background image of an iceberg all the more pertinent – with two thirds of the world’s fresh water locked up in glaciers and ice caps,⁹²⁴ the question of water as a resource is closely tied to any changes in that ice, such as melting.

The choice of an image drawn from the cryosphere in the Westpac advertisement is significant as it acts as shorthand for a wide range of environmental issues. Ice is understood to be particularly vulnerable to anthropogenic climate change, largely because melting can be seen (when observed over a period of time), while many other effects of climate change remain invisible.⁹²⁵ As a result, ice often serves as a visual metaphor for change. Here, the idea of change is reinforced by the text below the image, which refers to changing a globe. In this case, the change alluded to is not to melt the ice, but to halt the melt of the ice. In order to understand this message, the audience needs to be familiar with current discourse around climate change. In this case, the message created by the advertisement is that Westpac is a responsible corporation, and by choosing to bank with them, customers are also choosing to help protect the environment – including the ice at the poles. This message was carefully considered by the advertising company; Mark Sareff, from The Campaign Palace, admitted to Westpac stakeholders “it’s a fine line between building a brand for sustainability – and being accused of greenwash.”⁹²⁶ The challenge was to present the company as being socially responsible, without

⁹²² A 2014 campaign by the ANZ Bank (Australia) carried similar imagery and connotations – it featured an iceberg, with the taglines “Your super may be just the tip of the iceberg” and “Beneath the surface, you could be better off than you think.” (A2014I).

⁹²³ Established by the UN Global Compact in 2007 to mobilise “business leaders for water stewardship.” UN Global Compact, *The CEO Water Mandate*.

⁹²⁴ United States Geological Survey, “The World’s Water.”

⁹²⁵ Carvalho, “Reporting the Climate Change Crisis,” 489.

⁹²⁶ Sareff, “Campaign for Change,” 25.

invoking a cynical response from Westpac's "marketing-savvy consumers."⁹²⁷ The advertising company's answer was to use inference and association, and employ Antarctic imagery to communicate a message about environmentally friendly behaviour.

Penguins and Protection

Penguins have a similar function in both the ABB and Westpac advertisements discussed; standing on ice, they stand for Antarctica, which in turn stands for the environment as a whole. The birds are remarkably versatile, symbolically speaking – Leane and Pfenningwerth have detailed how penguins have been "adopted by environmental groups as poster children for remote wilderness regions,"⁹²⁸ and anthropomorphised to "stand in for humans without the added complication of actual human presence."⁹²⁹ There are many other examples of advertisements that employ this technique. A series of 1988/1989 advertisements about CFC-free aerosols⁹³⁰ featured a group of Adélie penguins under the heading "Meeting of leading environmentalists welcomes change in aerosols,"⁹³¹ promoting the protection of the ozone layer thanks to new propellant technologies (Figure 7.8). (The use of penguins in this instance was particularly apposite, seeing as the ozone 'hole' is a yearly occurrence above the Antarctic, and was first discovered by scientists making measurements at the British Faraday and Halley Stations on the Antarctic Peninsula.)⁹³² Here, the penguins are depicted as the ultimate environmentalists, as they live in the polar environment – a message that also comes through in the ABB and Westpac advertisements, where the birds pictured are framed as having the most to gain from any change. Thanks to their upright bodies, 'tuxedo' feather patterns, and comical waddle, penguins can also be used to suggest a human presence when

⁹²⁷ Ibid., 25.

⁹²⁸ Leane and Pfenningwerth, "Marching on Thin Ice," 30.

⁹²⁹ Ibid., 32.

⁹³⁰ The advertisements, designed by Sydney-based agency Curtis Jones and Brown, originally appeared in the pages of such magazines as *Cleo*, *Cosmopolitan*, the *Australian Women's Weekly*, and *Reader's Digest*, between November 1988 and February 1989.

⁹³¹ The Aerosol Information Service, "Happy 50th Anniversary."

⁹³² British Antarctic Survey, "The Ozone Layer."

there is none, giving the audience of the advertisement more reason to sympathise with the message. Penguins have featured in a range of other advertisements that advocate environmental practices such as saving electricity: EDF's Save Energy, Penguin advertisement (A2006c), and Ferdi Rizkiyanto's Global Warming Ad (A2013x). Both exhort the viewer to turn off the lights when they are not in the room, and they use penguins to stand for an environment that needs to be protected. These examples illustrate the way that animals can become "symbolic pawns in human debates"⁹³³ – including debates about climate, fragility, and Antarctica.

Penguins aside, both the ABB and Westpac campaigns illustrate how, in light of the "increasing global segment that values environmentalism,"⁹³⁴ 'greening' a business is a lucrative proposition. In each case the advertisement is earnest, suggesting that the consumers of ABB and Westpac products both care about environmental issues, and are able to make sense of Antarctic imagery as shorthand for environmental issues at large. Antarctica is represented as the ultimate, archetypal environment to protect, and this framing of the continent has continued to be employed in subsequent advertising campaigns. As we will see, the casting of Antarctica as a fragile environmental treasure is not always presented as solemnly as in these examples. Indeed, the same imagery that is used to signal environmental themes has also been used to subvert the very narrative it has helped to build.

⁹³³ Leane and Pfenningwerth, "Marching on Thin Ice," 36.

⁹³⁴ Fletcher and Crawford, *International Marketing*, 208.



Figure 7.8: Penguin advertisement relating to CFC-free aerosols, 1988/1989
 (Source: The Aerosol Information Service, "Happy 50th Anniversary")

Melting Ice: Double Takes and Double Meanings

Having gained sufficient traction as a vehicle for conveying climate narratives in the cultural sphere, the same imagery of ice and penguins became ripe for satire that consciously subverted the protection narrative. In the examples analysed below – a Diesel clothing campaign from 2007, and a political poster by Borders Perrin Norrande from 2008 – it is assumed that the viewer will be aware of the previous uses of similar imagery, and possesses the analytical faculties to recognise references to recurrent themes. This places the advertisements themselves firmly within the context of popular culture. The advertisements reveal – at times unintentionally – the problems inherent in presenting Antarctica as a far-away 'other' in need of protection, and make explicit the links between Antarctica and the rest of the global climate system.

Diesel: Being Global Warming Ready

In early 2007 the Italian clothing company Diesel launched a multi-platform advertising campaign entitled Global Warming Ready (Figure 7.9). Designed by the agency Marcel (Paris), the campaign rolled out newspaper, magazine,⁹³⁵ transit, and outdoor billboard advertisements across the world.⁹³⁶ Striking imagery “depicting ordinary scenes in a surreal, post-Global Warming world”⁹³⁷ was at the heart of the advertisements. Models were depicted lounging in a range of well-known global landmarks, such as the Eiffel Tower in Paris, St Mark’s Square in Venice, and Mt Rushmore in South Dakota, but the scenes had been altered to suggest a much warmer climate: jungle in Paris, tropical birds in Venice, sandy beaches around Mt Rushmore – and penguins atop rocky outcrops rather than ice (Figure 7.9). Each image featured the same minimal text – a red Diesel logo in the bottom right corner, and a stamp in the top right corner proclaiming the pictured models to be Global Warming Ready.

A press release from Diesel on 31 January 2007 described the campaign as “a thought-provocative, international advertising concept designed to ignite debate while raising awareness of the issues surrounding climate change.”⁹³⁸ Debate certainly ensued, with the relationship between climate change and consumption – specifically, the way the term ‘global warming’ was used a marketing tool – the focus of environmental criticism of the advertisements.⁹³⁹ While Diesel claimed the campaign was an ironic way of provoking discussion at a time when, in the words of spokesperson Joelle Berdugo Adler, “Global warming was a tremendously hot button issue,”⁹⁴⁰ the company was accused of being “far less concerned with fomenting political activism and lifestyle change than they are with selling their brand.”⁹⁴¹ Pearse points out that “Diesel hasn’t

⁹³⁵ Magazines included *Elle*, *Elle Quebec*, and *Flare* magazines, all known for their fashion spreads.

⁹³⁶ Newswire, “Diesel Launches Global Warming Ready Campaign.”

⁹³⁷ Ibid.

⁹³⁸ Ibid.

⁹³⁹ Harrison, “Diesel Ads.”

⁹⁴⁰ Dahlen, Lange and Smith, *Marketing Communications*, 157.

⁹⁴¹ Harrison, “Diesel Ads.”

mentioned the [climate change] issue since the campaign and doesn't publish information on its own carbon footprint,"⁹⁴² suggesting that the Global Warming Ready campaign was little more than a lucrative way of capitalising on buzzwords. Nevertheless, the campaign was a success in terms of scale and critical acclaim – as well as being “one of the largest in Diesel's Canadian history,”⁹⁴³ Global Warming Ready went on to win a Silver Lion for Print at the 2007 Cannes International Advertisement Advertising Festival.⁹⁴⁴



*Figure 7.9: Diesel “Global Warming Ready” advertisement with penguins, 2007
(Source: Diesel Advertisement, “Diesel: Global Warming, North Pole”)*

While the power of advertising is in its ability to persuade consumers to buy a product, it is ambiguous precisely what was meant by the Global Warming Ready

⁹⁴² Pearse, *Green Wash*, 78.

⁹⁴³ Newswire, “Diesel Launches Global Warming Ready Campaign.”

⁹⁴⁴ Ads of the World, “Cannes Lion 2007 Winners Press Silver.”

tagline. Is it the scantily clad models themselves – and therefore the company that makes their scanty clothes – who are ready for a warmer climate? Or is the advertisement meant to suggest that the Diesel brand itself is ‘going green’ by taking an active stance in trying to combat climate change? And should the advertisements be read as a swipe at the concerns of environmentalists, a critique of commercial markets, a call to action, or a playful amalgamation of all three? Supporting promotional materials add little clarity.⁹⁴⁵ A short online film⁹⁴⁶ outlined in a serious BBC-style why global warming was ‘bad,’ before announcing “global warming cannot stop our lives!” and showing images of glamorous young people – those pictured in the advertising campaign – partying in exotic locations. The latter led Pearse to claim “when it comes to the fashion industry and climate change, it is mostly about *looking* hot.”⁹⁴⁷ Taking a stance on global warming is typical behaviour for a brand that is trying to promote its environmental consciousness, but such a straightforward reading of the environmental message is denied by the presentation of self-centred people who are seemingly quite content in their post-global warming lives.

Accompanying links and details on Diesel’s campaign webpage are equally contradictory. At first glance, web materials appear to be irreverent: in order to save the planet, visitors to Diesel’s website were exhorted to “save the planet by having sex (quietly) to cut down on heating ... insulating homes with recycled denim, never taking a shower... giving fashion magazines to grannies... and getting rid of the fridge at home.”⁹⁴⁸ At the same time, the site promoted Al Gore’s famous climate change film *An Inconvenient Truth*, and provided a link to Diesel’s partner organisation, the grassroots movement Stop Global Warming. The company’s statement at stopglobalwarming.org suggested a modicum of self-reflection, with the acknowledgement that “We are only a fashion company

⁹⁴⁵ These included the Diesel website, a documentary-style filmed advertisement, online links and endorsements, and a booklet of the “World’s Coolest Hotspots Guide” which was available in store and presented maps of various regions of the world affected by sea level rise (including a green-coloured Antarctica).

⁹⁴⁶ Diesel, “Global Warming Ready.”

⁹⁴⁷ Pearse, *Green Wash*, 86.

⁹⁴⁸ Dahlen, Lange and Smith, *Marketing Communications*, 158.

and do not think that – with just one campaign – we can save the world.”⁹⁴⁹ This statement can however be read as marketing spin, and a preemptive response to any critical media reaction towards their campaign. It is not uncommon for advertising agencies to use dissonance and subversion to attract attention to brands and products marketed to young people; the shock factor, and the pushing of boundaries are part of the attraction.

The Global Warming Ready campaign may be designed to shock rather than to promote environmental values, but Diesel goes on to suggest that an advertising campaign can nevertheless have an impact:

if our unconventional tone of voice and the reputation of our brand can grab and hold people's attention a little longer than a news feature can, make them think twice about the consequence of all our actions and realize our individual responsibility, then something at least will have been accomplished.⁹⁵⁰

The inclusion of such material in the campaign indicates an awareness of the scrutiny the campaign would – and did – provoke. Dahlen, Lange and Smith asked in 2010 whether Diesel’s announcement that its products were Global Warming Ready was “a strategic shift to eco-fashion” or “a short-term ‘green wash’ use of tactical positioning to gain attention.”⁹⁵¹ A third possibility exists – that the Global Warming Ready campaign was a play on both, designed to highlight the issues with using buzzwords in advertising, at the same time as doing just that, by using the term ‘global warming’ in order to play to the consumer market. Diesel’s clientele is mostly young, so have been exposed to the climate change message for much of their lives. Here, Diesel banks on that audience experiencing climate change exhaustion, and enjoying the naughtiness of reveling, even briefly, in the prospect of a warmer world. The campaign’s intentional ambiguities, and the assumed sophistication of the target audience, provide important context for reading the Antarctic advertisement from the Global Warming Ready series.

⁹⁴⁹ Stopglobalwarming.org, *Featured Partners: Diesel*.

⁹⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁵¹ Dahlen, Lange and Smith, *Marketing Communications*, 157.

The presence of several King penguins in the background of the Diesel advertisement signals its Antarctic setting. The fact that this species of penguin is a sub-Antarctic variety that breeds on the shores of islands such as Crozet, Kerguelen, and South Georgia, and is often found on rock in today's climate, is irrelevant; thanks to dominant cultural narratives, penguins of any variety can be used to stand as a symbol for Antarctica.⁹⁵² The main function of the penguins is to act as geographical markers, signalling a far southern setting.⁹⁵³ These penguins are depicted on rocks at the seashore, creating a scene that speaks to the central theme of the Global Warming Ready advertisements – when combined with an atypical ice-free environment, they visually and succinctly impart the message that the climate has changed. This combination of penguins and a lack of ice is unexpected. While melting ice is a common and easy to understand metaphor for climate change, the complete absence of ice is unusual. This answers Williamson's criticism about presence being used to signify absence in much climate change imagery, but does not carry the dire connotations of many other advertisements. Here, in conjunction with the Global Warming Ready tagline, it signals a time when there is no more ice left to melt. Importantly, the 'Antarctic' image presents a landscape that already exists today, albeit further north, in the sub-Antarctic islands. Whereas the other advertisements from the series – featuring scenes from Paris, Venice, New York and the likes – were all digitally created, in this case it is a combination of the models and the text that turn a normal contemporary sub-Antarctic environment into a post-apocalyptic Antarctic scene. A spatial substitution creates the perception of a temporal shift, thus presenting one contemporary landscape as the future promise of another.

The foreground of the Diesel advertisement is dominated by two scantily clad models, one male and one female, who are lit with warm toned lighting that

⁹⁵² Several advertisements for companies such as Alitalia airlines (Figure 5.8) and Geico insurance (Figure 4.1) have used African Black Footed or Magellanic Penguins with an Antarctic tagline.

⁹⁵³ Nevertheless, the advertisement is catalogued on the *adsoftheworld.com* site as being at the North Pole. Ads of the World, "Global Warming: North Pole."

contrasts with the blues of the background. The rule of thirds is used to draw attention to the human figures; they are placed on the boundary between the first and second thirds of the advertisement to draw the viewer's eye in. The models echo this act of looking by gazing intently at one another, interested in themselves rather than the environment around them. This is a common element throughout the Diesel campaign – human figures are more interested in one another, and in having a good time, than in their surroundings. It is an element that led to criticism of the campaign, with Paul Harrison describing it as “blatantly self-interested,”⁹⁵⁴ and Mel Young, of ethical lifestyle magazine *New Consumer* claiming “Diesel is appealing the worst aspect of human nature – one of greed and selfishness.”⁹⁵⁵ The composite image of models in a futuristic Antarctic setting mirrors glamour fashion shoots, drawing attention to the conventions of the genre by making use of the same techniques against an unexpected backdrop. In the words of the Diesel press release, “‘Global Warming Ready’ explores the issue and its possible consequences with subtle and beautiful images that make people think as they begin to sink in.”⁹⁵⁶ The potentially uncomfortable message about a changing planet is designed to jar against the ‘beautiful images’ so ubiquitous in advertising. It is precisely this dissonance – mirroring the cognitive dissonance of the many environmentally minded consumers who nevertheless continue to buy new products – which sits at the centre of the campaign.

In the Diesel advertisement, existing visual language is employed to communicate ambivalent and subversive environmental values. The fact that an Antarctic setting was included in this series of Global Warming Ready advertisements confirms that the continent has come to be understood as shorthand for environmental change. In a media environment that is saturated with the issue of climate change, it is impossible for those in the western world not hear about, or be exposed to visual representations of the phenomenon. Such

⁹⁵⁴ Harrison, “Diesel Ads.”

⁹⁵⁵ Young, “Why I think Diesel’s Global Warming Adverts Call for a Boycott.”

⁹⁵⁶ Newswire, “Diesel Launches Global Warming Ready Campaign.”

a model casts Antarctica as part of a global climate system, but also as a fragile environment, by virtue of its potential to shed the ice by which it is currently defined. In this Diesel campaign, the melting of Antarctic ice is taken to its extreme conclusion, where there is no longer any ice left to melt. Despite calling upon the rhetoric of melt and change, the advertisement does not carry a sincere message. Upon first glance, the advertisement seems to assume that, for its target audience, a balmy climate where one can wear a bikini is preferable to an icescape, and that the loss of the cryosphere is no great problem. Alternatively, the advertisement can be read as a reaction to the over-saturation of the media by narratives of climate change, where Antarctic imagery is subverted in order to play into the tongue-in-cheek nature of the overall campaign, thus gaining publicity for the brand at large. Whether read as an ironic comment on how slogans can be used to sell, or as a denial of a bleaker future, the advertisement appeals to different values around Antarctica than in the earlier ABB and Westpac examples. Antarctica is used as a tool through which environmental messages are propagated, represented, contested, and recast for a range of different purposes.

“Don’t Vote”: Things Are Just Fine

In the lead-up to the 2008 US election, the advertising agency Borders Perrin Norrander launched the Don’t Vote campaign.⁹⁵⁷ The series of 12 posters were designed to represent the key election issues, and employed cognitive dissonance to provoke a reaction in the viewer. Each featured a dominant image on a plain-coloured background – including a battered dollar bill, the Statue of Liberty performing an obscene hand gesture, a petrol bowser tied into a noose, or Antarctica melting and cracking apart – captioned with the text ‘Don’t Vote. Things are fine just the way they are.’ Like many modern campaigns, Don’t Vote included a digital component, and the posters featured a web link to the site thingsarefine.org. The site presented an animation of a US flag breaking into

⁹⁵⁷ The series are available to view via AdForum, “Don’t Vote – “Antarctica.””

jagged pieces, representing the dismantling of the entire values system the flag has been used to represent. This animation was followed by the text

Take a look around. Our world needs a change. You can be that change.
Vote. And encourage others to vote. Grab a poster. Print it. Spread the word.⁹⁵⁸

At the time, Jeremy Boland, a senior creative director with the agency, explained how “the campaign is intended to wake people up to the situations around them, get them off their butts and into ballot booths where their voices can be heard.”⁹⁵⁹ Ever since its inception in 1977, the agency has promoted itself with the tagline “timid advertisers needn’t call.”⁹⁶⁰ This campaign is both an example of a bold political message, and an advertisement for the agency itself, as it also served the purpose of raising the profile of Borders Perrin Norrander.

The first poster featured on the Don’t Vote website⁹⁶¹ is entitled ‘Antarctica’ (Figure 7.10). The dominant colour of the advertisement is black, with a grey border and grey Don’t Vote caption. The centre of the poster features an illustration of Antarctica, with the white outline of the continent crisscrossed with dark grey cracks, reminiscent of ice breaking up. The bottom edge of the Antarctic illustration features teardrop shapes that mimic dripping ice. Together, these cracks and drips represent the melting of the continent of ice. The top third of the poster is dominated by the text ‘Antarctica.’ The word is written in the same font used by the heavy metal band Metallica, and could easily be mistaken for the band’s name upon first glance. Musical allusions are continued in the bottom third of the poster, with the caption ‘Farewell Tour.’ As contemporary commentator Larry Fire put it in a 2008 post on his pop culture blog, “global warming becomes a rock band’s farewell tour t-shirt design.”⁹⁶² In this case, the farewell is to the continent Antarctica, as a result of anthropogenic climate change.

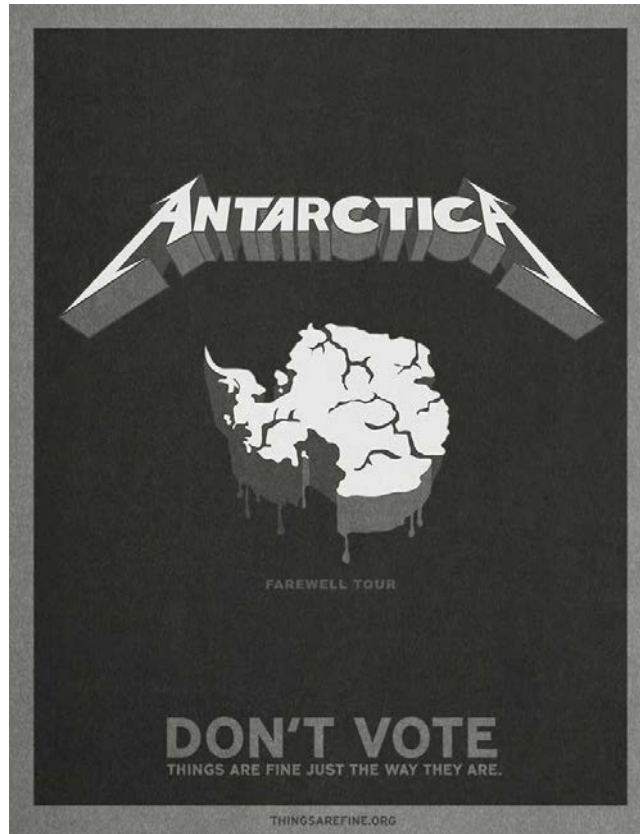
⁹⁵⁸ Thingsarefine.org, “Don’t Vote – Spread the Word.”

⁹⁵⁹ Pedersen, “Don’t Vote Campaign.”

⁹⁶⁰ BPN, “Our Story.”

⁹⁶¹ All posters were available to download. Archived site accessible. Thingsarefine.org, “Don’t Vote – Spread the Word.”

⁹⁶² Fire, “Don’t Vote.”



*Figure 7.10: Borders Perrin Norrander Poster: "Don't Vote," 2008
(Source: Thingsarefine.org, "Don't Vote – Spread the Word.")*

In this Don't Vote poster, Antarctica is once again used as shorthand for global environmental peril. The cracking, melting imagery presented in combination with Antarctica shows what could happen to the world if salient political issues are ignored. The poster links to the idea of fragility by presenting Antarctica as a continent that is vulnerable to melting. Here humans are the protagonists, as they are the ones who are able to vote, and therefore to take action to accelerate or halt the passive melting of Antarctica's ice. The choice of Metallica-style branding is relevant in this regard. Metallica, and metal music in general, present alternatives to mainstream music. As Michelle Phillipov puts it, "Death metal bands frequently transgress social taboos, presenting as pleasurable or comedic material that is conventionally considered to be ethically and/or politically problematic."⁹⁶³ They are also typically disengaged from politics and progressive

⁹⁶³ Phillipov, "A "Nihilistic Dreamboat to Negation" iv.

political values.⁹⁶⁴ In the case of environmental politics, a desire to protect the natural world from the effects of anthropogenic climate change is seen as the progressive approach. By presenting the word 'Antarctica' in a font that is closely associated with a heavy metal band's brand, the associations of that brand are transferred onto the new text. Antarctica is usually presented as a place in which much is invested, but the font carries the opposite associations. This typographical reference contributes to the dissonance at the heart of the poster – although the poster caption reads Don't Vote, the intended message is in fact to the contrary.

Both the Don't Vote poster and Diesel's Global Warming Ready advertisement make use of dissonance and double meaning, assuming their audiences are capable of recognising such devices. The advertisements treat Antarctica differently, however. While the Don't Vote poster is earnest in its political message, the Diesel advertisement is less sincere. Antarctica's appearance in the former indicates that the imagery and ideas relating to Antarctica as a fragile environment have been internalised by the viewers. Hence, the image of a melting Antarctic continent and the text Don't Vote sit at odds with one another, and this dissonance is intended to provoke action. In the Diesel example, the presentation of penguins on rocks rather than ice is intended to be read as a post-apocalyptic scene, but there is no sense of panic. Rather, the figures are depicted making the most of this new, anthropogenically-altered environment. Antarctica is therefore depicted as a lost cause, to be enjoyed for what it is, versus a threatening mass of ice whose melt can be stopped by human action (by voting into power politicians who will take action on climate change). Together, these advertisements show how accepted the idea of Antarctica melting, thus leading to an apocalyptic future, has become. Both employ imagery that already carries cultural assumptions and values relating to the environment and anthropogenic climate change, and rely on the viewer to understand and decode this shorthand. While the associated connotations differ in each case, the fact that both the Diesel and Don't Vote advertisements are pitched at more sophisticated audiences indicates that the trope of Antarctica as a fragile

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid., 5.

environment that needs to be protected has gained sufficient cultural traction for such visual references to be immediately understood by viewers at large.

The Fragility Frame

When it comes to representations of Antarctica, the frame of fragility is recurrent, and manifests in many different ways. The case studies in this chapter have shown how the cultural connotations of ice vary, and are linked to cultural norms. These advertisements are all anthropocentric, presenting humans as the active agents. As such, they don't tell us about Antarctica as a place, so much as what Antarctica is used for – in this case, the continent becomes a symbol for environmental change. Imagery ranging from glaciers to penguins to the continent itself has been used to promote 'green' products, with a range of companies capitalising on the idea of Antarctica being in need protection. Growing consumer awareness of environmental issues from the 1980s onwards meant green initiatives became more valuable. So too did icy imagery. The rhetoric of climate change (often symbolised by Antarctica) saturated the media, including appearing in advertisements for companies that wanted to push their own green credentials. Penguins and icebergs were employed to stand in for an environment that each company in turn could claim to be protecting, and the idea of Antarctica as a fragile place that is under threat entered into popular consciousness. Once polar imagery gained sufficient cultural traction that it was easily understood as a symbol for climate change and the environment, the same imagery began to be employed in subversive ways, as seen in the Diesel example.

In its fragility, Antarctica also makes humans fragile, and vulnerable to the impacts of anthropogenic climate change. To take one dominant, and very visual, example, if Antarctica is at risk of melting, coastlines the world over are also at risk of flooding due to sea level rise. Such a bad-news story is not employed in advertising examples, however, as the purpose of advertising is to sell products or services to people, not to preach dystopian futures. This drive to sell is behind the rhetoric of protection that urges consumers to buy this product, and protect

that ice. Such a message brings security and a feeling of agency to the consumers who make market choices based on their own environmental values, and brings profits to the companies who employ environmental rhetoric in their advertising campaigns. For Antarctica itself, such shifts in framing may ultimately make little difference to the continent. Back home, however, they reveal dominant values, and showcase what it is that is valued. No matter the tone or intended message, in the advertisements considered, it is there for the melting.

Part III: Views from the South

Chapter 7 – A Place for Travel and Transformation

In June of 2014, John Oliver aired an anti-tourism campaign⁹⁶⁵ on his *Last Week Tonight* show. The clip, which runs for just over a minute, features a range of familiar images that signify ‘Antarctica’ – including penguins, seals and ice. It begins with panoramic views of icebergs and wildlife, accompanied by a voiceover: “Antarctica. The majestic seventh continent. An unspoiled land of incredible ice formations that you simply have to see.” The imagery and language initially mirror those used in regular tourism campaigns, but the message soon shifts, with the narrator quipping: “Seeing as how you’re looking at them right now, you’ve technically seen them.” The spoof advertisement addresses the motivations people may have for visiting – that it is exotic, or that wildlife can be seen up close – then offers alternatives: go to Belgium instead (“Have your friends been to Belgium? No? Then it’s exotic to them”), or watch the video of a seal with 3D glasses on (“it’s like you’re actually here”). And if you really must have ice, the clip suggests a visit to Alaska instead (when you show your photos, no one will even know the difference). This satirical treatment of Antarctic tourism shines a light on the industry in an irreverent way, while touching on several concerning elements of the practice. While Oliver’s punch line is “Stop Coming Here!” (Figure 8.1), the reality is that thousands of people *do* go to Antarctica every year, and high definition film footage is considered a poor substitute for the real thing. Thanks to tourism, Antarctica is now a commodity in its own right.

⁹⁶⁵ Oliver, “Don’t Visit Antarctica.”



*Figure 8.1: Still from an episode of Last Week Tonight with John Oliver, 2014
(Source: Oliver, "Don't Visit Antarctica")*

Antarctic tourism has been a cause of anxiety in recent years as it poses a perceived threat to the image of a pristine and untouched continent. Oliver's anti-tourism segment was aired shortly after a report highlighting the need for better protection of Antarctica was released.⁹⁶⁶ Findings from the research paper were widely reported in the Australian media, with the message "Antarctica needs to be better protected from human visitors, including tourists and researchers."⁹⁶⁷ This in turn was picked up by Oliver, who pointed out the disconnect between a TV segment that talks about the vulnerability of Antarctica to melt, while showing the host eating a chunk of Antarctic ice.⁹⁶⁸ Such satirical treatment of the topic of Antarctic tourism indicates that the presence of people in Antarctica has come to the attention of the general public as a mainstream issue. Satire tells truth about the current Zeitgeist in an accessible and acceptable way, through the use of humour, but also forces the viewer to look at the world

⁹⁶⁶ Shaw et al, "Antarctica's Protected Areas."

⁹⁶⁷ Hunt and Ikin, "Antarctica Under Threat."

⁹⁶⁸ Oliver, "Don't Visit Antarctica," 0:1:15.

from a slightly altered point of view. The “Don’t Visit Antarctica” clip elicits a laugh, but also touches a nerve.

This final chapter sees the focus return to Antarctica as a material presence; it is a place visited by tourists and workers alike, and each visitor carries with them traces of the thematic associations explored in the previous chapters. These days it is no longer harvestable seals, whales, and minerals that are of interest commercially, but the ‘wilderness’ of the continent, and the cool materiality of ice. Thanks to a range of tourism providers, that ice is no longer entirely out of reach. As Leane puts it, “Antarctica, which for centuries has for most people functioned primarily as a symbol, is now an expensive but nonetheless feasible travel destination.”⁹⁶⁹ This chapter examines a small selection of advertisements that showcase Antarctica itself as a commodity. These include tourism advertisements, as well as recruitment material from National Antarctic Programmes. The analysis offered here is not intended to be comprehensive; an exhaustive study of the contents of Antarctic tourism advertisements, brochures, and other promotional material would constitute a revealing – but entirely standalone – project. Instead, this final section aims to illustrate the ways earlier themes related to Antarctica – heroism, extremity, fragility, and purity – have been reprised in the context of Antarctica as a destination. It asks what promises have been made to prospective consumers of the Antarctic landscape, and examines how familiar images, language, and tropes have been used to market the continent itself. This chapter also adds a further dimension, with tourism and recruitment advertisements including the promise of interaction with Antarctica itself. They bring to the fore the idea that a trip to Antarctica will be a life-changing experience that sees an individual transform in one or more ways. Finally, the chapter analyses the way Antarctica as a travel destination functions as a metaphor – often for other types of challenges – and asks how the *idea* of Antarctica as a place for transformation has been put to use in a range of situations far from the ice itself.

⁹⁶⁹ Leane, “Antarctic Travel Writing,” 247.

Transformational Antarctica: A Life-Changing Continent

Antarctica is often presented as a place of transformation, where life-changing experiences take place.⁹⁷⁰ Leane has detailed this phenomenon at length in *Antarctica in Fiction*; in a chapter entitled “The Transforming Nature of Antarctic Travel” she claims

the ‘Antarctica of the mind’ – the continent as a place of soul-searching and personal transformation – has come into its own as a theme within Antarctic fiction

during the late twentieth century.⁹⁷¹ When it comes to the far south, Arthur Asa Berger posits that “there may be a mythic impetus, of which we are unaware, behind our desire to see Antarctica or land on the continent.”⁹⁷² Indeed, the trope of transformation has parallels to the structure of fairy tales of old – hero sets out on a journey, faces adversity, overcomes challenges, gains new insights, and returns home. Vladimir Propp, Francisco Vaz da Silva and others have shown how such familiar narratives are “in essence, transformative narratives”⁹⁷³ that feature metamorphosis as a central element. In the case of Antarctica, tourists must first set sail into stormy seas and brave the Southern Ocean (the challenge), in order to enjoy the wonders of the frozen continent.

This physical travel is often mirrored by internal feelings, because transformation is about going forth into the unknown, and the unknown provokes anxieties as well as providing opportunities. The journey to Antarctica can therefore act as a metaphor for an internal journey of discovery – as is also the case in other extreme environments. Jeff Maynard sees both the North Pole and Mt Everest as goals: people “feel they have ‘conquered’ it, while in truth they have really conquered fears, shortcomings and limits of physical endurance within themselves.”⁹⁷⁴ This conquering of boundaries can also result in a personal transformation. In *Theorizing Tourism*, Berger claims that

⁹⁷⁰ Lindblad Expeditions, *Antarctica*.

⁹⁷¹ Leane, *Antarctica in Fiction*, 133.

⁹⁷² Berger, “Chapter 10: Antarctica,” 103.

⁹⁷³ Vaz Da Silva, “Transformation,” 986.

⁹⁷⁴ Maynard, *Wings of Ice*, 15.

the Shangri-la the visitors to Antarctica are seeking exists not in the Himalayas, but in their imaginations, hidden away somewhere in the vast wilderness of Antarctica's empty and mysterious interior.⁹⁷⁵

A voyage south can thus be conceptualised in several ways – a physical journey, an exploration of imagined landscapes as they are replaced by experience, and shifting attitudes and transformations within oneself. Leane argues that while the initial Antarctic transformation narratives might be considered masculine (going to Antarctica will toughen you up and make you more manly), more recent renditions focus on female subjects (going to Antarctica will free you from life's clutter and let you find your true self).⁹⁷⁶ Both versions emerge in advertising for the Antarctic tourism product.

Antarctic Tourism: Setting the Scene

While Antarctica may be sliced off the bottom of most Mercator maps, it is nevertheless home to a thriving tourism industry, with almost 40,000 people heading south for leisure each summer season.⁹⁷⁷ Definitions of Antarctic tourism range from the encompassing "all human activities either mainly pursuing recreational and/or educational purposes"⁹⁷⁸ on the continent to the specific: "the commercial (for profit) transport (including accommodation and catering) of nongovernment travellers to and from Antarctica for the purpose of pleasure."⁹⁷⁹ Accordingly, it could be argued that the wealthy New Zealand farmer George Buckley fitted the 'tourist' bill back in 1907.⁹⁸⁰ Having donated to Shackleton's 1907 *Nimrod* expedition, he was permitted to accompany the ship to the edge of the ice and back for recreational reasons.⁹⁸¹ Other scholars have suggested that Lawrence Oates and Apsley Cherry-Garrard – both of whom received a place on Scott's 1914 *Terra Nova* expedition in exchange for donations

⁹⁷⁵ Berger, "Chapter 10: Antarctica," 100.

⁹⁷⁶ Leane, *Antarctica in Fiction*, 143.

⁹⁷⁷ International Association of Antarctica Tourism Operators, "Tourism Overview."

⁹⁷⁸ Haase, "Tourism in the Antarctic," 48.

⁹⁷⁹ Bauer, *Tourism in the Antarctic*, 15.

⁹⁸⁰ Nielsen, "Selling the South," 187.

⁹⁸¹ "The Antarctic Expedition."

– could be described as tourist-like as a result of the financial exchanges that took place.⁹⁸² By this logic, Antarctic tourism is over a century old.

Antarctic tourism on a commercial scale, however, did not begin until the late 1950s. In 1956 an Argentinian Douglas DC-6B aircraft offered a four-hour scenic flight for 66 passengers over the Peninsula region, while the Argentine ship *Les Eclaireurs*⁹⁸³ headed for the South Shetland Islands two years later. Swedish entrepreneur Lars-Erik Lindblad, who is often hailed as the father of polar expedition cruise tourism, began offering regular voyages to the Antarctic Peninsula for fare-paying passengers in the late 1960s, thus setting the precedent for modern day tourism.⁹⁸⁴ He was responsible for building the *Lindblad Explorer*, the world's first ship designed for Antarctic tourism,⁹⁸⁵ and his model of small expedition-style vessels continues to be used today. Some 40 Category 1 (13-200 passengers) and Category 2 (201-500 passengers) vessels regularly head south,⁹⁸⁶ and these ships carry the bulk of tourists who visit Antarctica every season. Several companies offer small group expeditions to the continent's interior; to voyage in the footsteps of Heroic Era explorers;⁹⁸⁷ to participate in extreme sports events, including marathons; to view emperor penguin colonies;⁹⁸⁸ or to scale peaks. Most tourists, however, travel to the edges of the continent, which are comparatively easier to access, and they do so more often by sea than by air.⁹⁸⁹

Antarctic tourism is currently managed by the International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO). The association was founded by industry

⁹⁸² Leane, *South Pole*, 175. While both men had assigned roles on the expedition, they did pay to go south on a voyage that "presumably represented various pleasures," at least initially.

⁹⁸³ Headland, "Historical development of Antarctic tourism." Ibid., 275.

⁹⁸⁴ International Association of Antarctica Tourism Operators, "Tourism Overview." Tourist expeditions have headed to Antarctica every year since 1966, when Lindblad led his first expedition south.

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid. There have been annual tourist trips to Antarctica every year since 1966, and the purpose-built "Lindblad Explorer" was both built and launched in 1969.

⁹⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁷ See, for example, "In Shackleton's Footsteps" itineraries from Aurora Expeditions (2017/2018)

⁹⁸⁸ White Desert Antarctica "Emperors & South Pole."

⁹⁸⁹ Both methods of tourism are still practiced, but the 1979 Erebus disaster, in which 257 people were killed when an Air New Zealand plane crashed into the side of Mt Erebus, did put an end to overflights out of New Zealand.

players in 1991 in order to “advocate and promote the practice of safe and environmentally responsible private-sector travel to the Antarctic.”⁹⁹⁰ Since then, the Antarctic tourism sector has continued to grow, and IAATO has been at the forefront of management and regulation, creating guidelines⁹⁹¹ for operators, and attending Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings (ATCM) as an invited expert.⁹⁹² IAATO also tables information papers at each ATCM,⁹⁹³ outlining the tourist activities of the previous season, and providing a detailed breakdown of the activities that have taken place at each site, from camping and zodiac cruising through to scuba diving and endurance races. IAATO backs the creation of “Antarctic Ambassadors,”⁹⁹⁴ arguing that travel to Antarctica is one way of creating advocates for the frozen continent who will “champion this unique environment in a global context.”⁹⁹⁵ Both the existence and the longevity of the association point to the importance of the tourism sector in mediating human experiences of the South.

Tourists embarking on an Antarctic voyage usually leave from one of five so-called Antarctic Gateway cities: Ushuaia (Argentina), Punta Arenas (Chile), Cape Town (South Africa), Hobart (Australia) and Christchurch (New Zealand).⁹⁹⁶ These cities claim various connections to the Antarctic, including political, cultural, historical, and commercial links.⁹⁹⁷ Gabriela Roldán writes how “positioning a city with the highly sought-after brand Antarctica”⁹⁹⁸ has been valuable in recent years, as Antarctic Gateway cities have promoted their south polar identities. Links to the Antarctic past are showcased in waterfront displays

⁹⁹⁰ International Association of Antarctica Tourism Operators, “What is IAATO?”

⁹⁹¹ International Association of Antarctica Tourism Operators, “Guidelines and Resources.”

⁹⁹² International Association of Antarctica Tourism Operators, “IAATO and The Antarctic Treaty.”

⁹⁹³ At the 2016 ATCM meeting in Chile, IAATO tabled 11 papers, including new wildlife watching guidelines for leopard seals and emperor penguins. International Association of Antarctica Tourism Operators, “Current IAATO Information Papers.”

⁹⁹⁴ Antarctic tourists are encouraged to join and contribute to social media accounts such as a Facebook page (www.facebook.com/AntarcticAmbassadors) and twitter account (www.twitter.com/ant_ambassadors).

⁹⁹⁵ International Association of Antarctica Tourism Operators “Climate Change in Antarctica.”

⁹⁹⁶ Voyages from New Zealand also leave from Bluff, in the far south. Stanley, in the Falkland Islands/ Islas Malvinas is sometimes cited as another Antarctic Gateway.

⁹⁹⁷ Roldán, “A door to The Ice?” 62.

⁹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

and signage,⁹⁹⁹ while promotional material also highlights local associations with the Antarctic.¹⁰⁰⁰ C. Michael Hall notes that

Antarctic travel and tourism are unusual in that the economic impact does not primarily occur at the destination, for there are few places where a tourist can spend money.¹⁰⁰¹

Instead, “expenditure is concentrated in the tourist-generating area, on the transport to the destination, and in the gateways to Antarctica.”¹⁰⁰² Further studies into the use of Antarctic imagery in advertising material for Antarctic Gateway cities would also be valuable. While scholars are currently investigating the role that an Antarctic identity plays in these gateway cities,¹⁰⁰³ the concept of ‘brand Antarctica’ is useful both at these tourist jumping-off points, and when examining the Antarctic continent itself.

Although there is a large body of academic scholarship focused on polar – and Antarctic – tourism, the marketing of such products remains an area ripe for investigation. Bernard Stonehouse and John M Snyder’s 2010 *Polar Tourism: An Environmental Perspective* provides an historical overview of polar tourism, and Dieter Müller, Linda Lundmark and Raynald H. Lemelin’s 2013 *New Issues in Polar Tourism: Communities, Environments, Politics*¹⁰⁰⁴ collates analysis of tourism regulation, definition and discourse by leading scholars. The area of polar tourism studies is now a field in its own right: Emma Stewart, Daniela Liggett and Jackie Dawson recently analysed “The Evolution of Polar Tourism Scholarship,”¹⁰⁰⁵ while the International Polar Tourism Research Network (IPTRN), founded in 2007, “strives to generate, share and disseminate knowledge, resources and perspectives on polar tourism.”¹⁰⁰⁶ Existing work tends to focus on the environmental impacts of tourism, policy and regulation, or

⁹⁹⁹ Prominent examples include a replica of Douglas Mawson’s hut on the Hobart waterfront; busts of prominent figures from Antarctic history along Ushuaia’s waterfront; and “Antarctic Gateway” signage at the port in Punta Arenas.

¹⁰⁰⁰ See Kriwoken, *Polar Pathways: Exploring Tasmania’s Antarctic Heritage* (Hobart) and INACH, “Traces of Antarctica” (Punta Arenas).

¹⁰⁰¹ Hall, “The Tourist and Economic Significance of Antarctic Travel,” 157.

¹⁰⁰² Ibid., 157.

¹⁰⁰³ See Roldán, Salazar, and the project “Reimagining Antarctic ‘Gateway’ Cities.”

¹⁰⁰⁴ Müller, Lundmark and Lemelin, *New Issues in Polar Tourism*.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Stewart, Liggett and Dawson, “The Evolution of Polar Tourism Scholarship.”

¹⁰⁰⁶ For more, see the International Polar Tourism Research Network Facebook Page, www.facebook.com/IPTRN27

the attitudes and behaviour of tourists themselves, rather than on elements of representation, marketing, and the associated visual imagery. Given that advertising plays such a large role in getting people to Antarctica via various routes, it deserves to be analysed in its own right, and within the context of tourism advertising more broadly.

Something for Everyone: Types of Tourism

Tourism in Antarctica takes many forms, with trips to the south exhibiting hallmarks of adventure tourism, extreme tourism, ecotourism, and last chance tourism, amongst others. As the final continent to be explored by humans, Antarctica has long been cast as a “last frontier” (Figure 8.2). For seasoned travellers, it is often continent number seven, so a trip south completes the set; classic ten-day voyages to the Antarctic Peninsula have been labelled “Discovering the 7th Continent”¹⁰⁰⁷ for this reason. This kind of marketing has parallels to examples of advertising discussed in Chapter 4, including those relating the band Metallica’s concert tour to all seven continents. While increased ship traffic has raised questions about the appropriateness of marketing Antarctic voyages as ‘expeditions’¹⁰⁰⁸ (rather than the less daring sounding term ‘cruises’) the term continues to be used within in the industry. Expeditions present a range of experiences, drawing upon historical links, unique encounters, and natural features, depending on location and nearby points of interest.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Quark Expeditions, “Antarctic Explorer.”

¹⁰⁰⁸ Lamers, Eijgelaar and Amelung, “Last Chance Tourism in Antarctica,” 29.



*Figure 8.2: Chimu Adventures advertisement for the “last frontier,” 2015
(Source: Jetsetter, Spring 2015, 75)*

Antarctica’s natural environment has long been a drawcard for tourists who head south. Images of penguins and pristine scenery, such as those featured in Figure 8.2 above, are common in advertising materials, and tourists are often eager to recreate these images themselves (photography is discussed below in further detail). In their analysis of a series of tourist surveys, Lamers, Eijgelaar and Amelung concluded that the elements of “wildlife, scenery, adventure and remoteness” were “the most important motives for travelling to Antarctica.”¹⁰⁰⁹ Many operators also promote their on-board enrichment and lecture programmes, designed to provide further context for guests. This has led some to

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid., 32.

characterise Antarctic tourism as ecotourism.¹⁰¹⁰ According to Elspeth Frew, ecotourism should include a nature-based element; an element of education; and should be sustainable, both environmentally and socio-culturally.¹⁰¹¹ Given the debates over the sustainability of an industry that relies heavily on fossil fuels, not all Antarctic tours fit the bill. The term 'ecotourism' has itself come under fire, with some seeing the concept of ecotourism as "little more than a marketing concept attached to almost any tourist product to attract those sympathetic to environmental causes."¹⁰¹² Nevertheless, an interest in the natural environment (and at times its preservation) remains a strong motivating factor for a large number of Antarctic tourists.

Both wilderness and fragility framings of Antarctica can provide motivations for a tourist to visit, by activating anxieties associated with last chance tourism. Last chance tourism has been defined as "a niche tourism market where tourists explicitly seek vanishing landscapes or seascapes, and/or disappearing natural and/or social heritage"¹⁰¹³ In the case of Antarctica, Lamers et al have identified that this 'last chance' discourse is "centered around the disappearance of ecosystems (visit before their grandeur is gone) and congestion (visit before it is too crowded)."¹⁰¹⁴ While this offers a particular way of looking at Antarctica, the concept of last chance tourism is not popular amongst tour operators; although 'last chance' might be the tourist's motivation, the operator cannot be seen to pander to this because it makes the tourist sound selfish. As a result, the fragility framing appears far less in tourism advertising material than other framings of Antarctica. This is not unexpected; in her study of World Heritage Sites, Frew found that "only a small number of tour operators capitalized on aspects of global warming to promote their tours."¹⁰¹⁵ Instead, the focus is on what remains, and images promise snow and ice.

¹⁰¹⁰ Stonehouse, "Ecotourism in Antarctica"; Thomas, "Ecotourism in Antarctica."

¹⁰¹¹ Frew, "Advertising World Heritage Sites," 118.

¹⁰¹² Wall, "Ecotourism," 165.

¹⁰¹³ Lemelin, et al, "Last-chance Tourism," 478.

¹⁰¹⁴ Lamers, Eijgelaar, and Amelung, "Last Chance Tourism in Antarctica," 36.

¹⁰¹⁵ Frew, "Advertising World Heritage Sites," 129.

Antarctic tour operators have marketed not only the continent itself, but also the opportunity to take the same photographs that abound in brochures, tour guides, and on Internet forums. As Anne Noble puts it, the Antarctic Peninsula is “the perfect place to take people to recapture that photograph, that image of Antarctica they already have.”¹⁰¹⁶ Companies offer specific “Antarctic Photography Safari” packages,¹⁰¹⁷ advertise free polar photography handbooks,¹⁰¹⁸ and often have an on-board photographer to create an official record of the voyage, and to help guests with their own camera equipment. The desire to take photographs is identified as a key motivator in several advertising brochures for Antarctic tours, which feature stunning scenes of penguins, whales and icebergs in brilliant sunshine. These act as a suggestion of what a prospective guest can expect to encounter through their lens; one tour company has even titled their 10-day Antarctic Peninsula voyage “Images of Antarctica.”¹⁰¹⁹ Noble has explored the implications of photographing Antarctica in depth, noting how “advertising photography is something that’s associated with the notion of a sublimely beautiful photograph.”¹⁰²⁰ She goes on to argue

when that’s mixed up with a landscape, what comes with it is the notion of a desire to have it, to note it, to capture it for ourselves, to consume it.¹⁰²¹

Given Tomaselli’s assertion that “tourists as consumers tend to demand an idealised experience promised by the glossy catalogue,”¹⁰²² the images that a tourist is exposed to prior to an Antarctic voyage play an important role in shaping their own response to the Antarctic environment.

Photography is not just a means to produce images, but also a process that contributes to a tourist’s overall experience of any given destination. For those in

¹⁰¹⁶ Noble, “Antarctica Nullius.”

¹⁰¹⁷ Natural World Safaris, “Ultimate Antarctica Photography Safari.”

¹⁰¹⁸ Aurora Expeditions, “Photography Handbook.”

¹⁰¹⁹ Chimu Adventures, “Images of Antarctica.”

¹⁰²⁰ Noble, “Antarctica Nullius.”

¹⁰²¹ Ibid.

¹⁰²² Tomaselli, “Consuming Nature,” 339.

Antarctica, the practice of photography helps to frame the tourist experience. Caroline Scarles explains how “photography and the visual have long been understood as fundamental to tourism”¹⁰²³ – they are important because “photographs and photography facilitate the enlivening and creation of place and experience.”¹⁰²⁴ A tourist may take a photograph of a whale’s fluke that is identical to those of dozens of other people on the same ship, but the process of taking the image helps to create the overall encounter, and the resulting image helps link the Antarctic to the tourist’s own personal experience. Charlotte Echtner has analysed how important and recognisable sites – including the Statue of Liberty and the Eiffel Tower – “are often used in tourist brochures to symbolize and represent a destination.”¹⁰²⁵ She argues that “when used extensively in such a context, they can become symbols, or ‘symbolic markers’ of the tourism destination.”¹⁰²⁶ In the case of Antarctica, elements such as icebergs and penguins are often used to stand in for the continent, creating a vocabulary of ice and charismatic mega fauna that comes to be inextricably linked to the destination itself.

Reprising Frames: Familiar Themes in Inhospitable Terrain

Tourism and advertising go hand in hand: both have a commercial focus, and both offer the promise of a different way of being. Echtner has argued that tourism can be seen as “a form of symbolic consumption whereby tourists display their identity and social roles through the destinations they choose.”¹⁰²⁷ For tourists, the choices they make about travel destinations are informed by pre-existing ideas and myths. As Mark Paterson explains, these “myths pervade tourist brochures and websites, helping to confirm existing beliefs about places, cultures and nature.”¹⁰²⁸ These narratives continue to be perpetuated

¹⁰²³ Scarles, “Becoming Tourist,” 465.

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid., 466.

¹⁰²⁵ Echtner, “The Semiotic Paradigm,” 49.

¹⁰²⁶ Ibid., 49.

¹⁰²⁷ Ibid., 52.

¹⁰²⁸ Paterson, *Consumption and Everyday Life*, 134.

throughout the experience of travel itself. Tourists are intersubjective, and, according to Scarles,

are surrounded by a proliferation of actors and media (e.g. tour operators, tour guides, postcard producers, television, and films) that frame destinations according to preferred discourses.¹⁰²⁹

Aware of the existing tropes and myths about the destination, such actors actively construct experiences that will meet with expectations, and allow tourists to use their chosen destination as a badge of identity. Echtner argues that “the goal of tourism promotion becomes the portrayal of these symbolic experiences using the appropriate sign systems.”¹⁰³⁰ What does this mean for Antarctica, a far-away continent that most will never visit? The symbolism and discourse of the continent – including transformation, sublimity, and exclusivity – is just as important as the actual destination itself.

Antarctic tourism marketing material primes tourists for their impending south polar encounter. As Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard put it, “leisure and tourism experiences are literally constructed in our imagination through advertising and the media,”¹⁰³¹ so the process of imagining a destination is a more influential process than any subsequent travel. When analysing the psychology of tourism marketing, David Uzzell concluded “holiday brochures, like all advertising material, are replete with messages and myths.”¹⁰³² In the case of Antarctic cruise tourism, these myths, messages, and themes are also apparent in onboard materials, including the IAATO “Going Ashore” briefing video.¹⁰³³ The short clip, which outlines the rules and regulations associated with an Antarctic visit, evokes ideas of extremity by explaining how “the Antarctic environment is inhospitable, unpredictable and potentially very dangerous, with hidden crevasses and frequent blizzards.”¹⁰³⁴ It also uses the theme of purity when urging for ongoing protection: “largely untouched and undisturbed, special

¹⁰²⁹ Scarles, “Becoming Tourist,” 468.

¹⁰³⁰ Echtner, “The Semiotic Paradigm” 52.

¹⁰³¹ Morgan and Pritchard, *Advertising in Tourism and Leisure*, 10.

¹⁰³² Uzzell, “An Alternative Structuralist Approach,” 97.

¹⁰³³ International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators, “Briefing Film – Going Ashore Visitors.”

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid.

guidelines exist to ensure it continues to be a constant source of wonder and inspiration.”¹⁰³⁵ Finally, the IAATO briefing encourages visitors to become ambassadors for Antarctica, and to think about the future of the continent whilst visiting, and once they return home, because “respecting and appreciating your surroundings is the easiest way to ensure this experience lasts for all those who come after you.”¹⁰³⁶ The use of the terms ‘beautiful’, ‘unique,’ and ‘untouched’ reinforces existing tropes about the continent, and mirrors the terms used in various cruise brochures, in order to build on tourists’ existing Antarctic imaginary with a further layer, namely a message of protection. The following examples – representing only a small selection of all existing advertisements – show how marketing material for Antarctica as a destination has reprised the themes from earlier chapters. Some framings are used more often than others. Heroism has been particularly popular in recent years, while very few travel advertisements draw a direct link to Antarctica’s fragility. Nevertheless, all those who travel south carry an imagined continent with them already, and subsequent on-ice experiences are then viewed through these frames.

Echoes of Heroism in Modern Day Antarctica

Tourism and empire have close historical associations, not least because “the end of empire coincided with the development of mass tourism and the commodification of leisure.”¹⁰³⁷ The ways in which “tourism is implicated in Empire”¹⁰³⁸ remain particularly visible in modern day Antarctic tourism. Narratives of empire (as exemplified by the Heroic Era explorers) have remained dominant, even as understandings of adventure and heroism have shifted with time. Farley notes how the past 120 years have also seen “the transformed discourse of adventure, which has shifted from a predominantly literary formation in Edwardian times to a booming sector of the travel industry.”¹⁰³⁹

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁷ Jones, Sèbe, Strachan, and Yeandle, “Decolonising Imperial Heroes,” 807.

¹⁰³⁸ Smith, “Après Moi le Déluge,” 165.

¹⁰³⁹ Farley, “By Endurance We Conquer,” 245.

Antarctica is far more accessible than ever before, but this does not mean that past conceptions of the continent as a place for heroes have faded. Instead, past notions of Empire that have been overwritten elsewhere throughout the twentieth century remain alluringly acceptable in the far south. As Glasberg puts it, “if everyone now travels to the poles, everyone can be a hero, too.”¹⁰⁴⁰

The centenary of Heroic Era voyages in recent years has been a selling point for many Antarctic tour operators.¹⁰⁴¹ They market the opportunity to travel in the footsteps of Heroic Era explorers, or offer special centenary cruises where a particular expedition is the focus of history lectures.¹⁰⁴² This follows a general trend seen in tourism advertising, where “aspects of the past are increasingly used in the construction of tourism products.”¹⁰⁴³ The cover of Lindblad Expeditions/National Geographic’s 2015/16 cruise brochure sums up this idea (Figure 8.3): the title reads “Antarctica. Once in a Lifetime. Once in a Century. Celebrating the Centennial of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition.” A trip to Antarctica is often described as a ‘once in a lifetime’ event – largely owing to the huge financial costs involved – and here the viewer is encouraged to have that one trip coincide with centenary celebrations. The accompanying imagery suggests the sights to be seen on this kind of voyage – Adélie penguins, but also icebergs, depicted as a reflection in the subject’s sunglasses. This layout invites the viewer to place themselves in the shoes of the person depicted, and to look back on history as they look out at the frozen icescape.

The mention of Shackleton’s *Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition* is also an

¹⁰⁴⁰ Glasberg, “Living Ice,” 222.

¹⁰⁴¹ One reason the “Hero” frame has been so dominant in recent tourism advertising materials is that this study was conducted during the Centenary period, when a number of celebrations were held to mark 100 years since various expeditions. Key dates included 2011/12 for the Scott/Amundsen South Pole centenary events, and 2014–2017 for those relating to Shackleton’s *Endurance* expedition.

¹⁰⁴² Examples of commercial ‘in the footsteps of...’ expeditions include “In the Footsteps of Scott and Shackleton” 2010 (www.heritage-expeditions.com/trip/in-the-footsteps-of-scott-and-shackleton-2665-5/); “In Shackleton’s Footsteps” 2016 (<http://expeditionsonline.com/tour-57/in-shackletons-footsteps-polar-pioneer> and www.auroraexpeditions.com.au/expedition/in-shackletons-footsteps); “The Spirit of Mawson” 2013 (www.spiritofmawson.com/); and “In the wake of Mawson” 2017 (www.chimuadventures.com/tour/in-the-wake-of-mawson). Most Antarctic tour operators offered a footsteps-style expedition during the centenary of Scott’s *Terra Nova* (1911–12) or Shackleton’s *Endurance* (1914–1916) expeditions.

¹⁰⁴³ Ashworth, “Historical Tourism,” 277.

invitation. Renewed public interest in Shackleton's story since the late 1990s has been fuelled further by tour operators wishing to attract aficionados; Aurora Expeditions promised guests

we'll even have the chance to re-enact the final leg of Shackleton's epic trek from Fortuna Bay to Stromness whaling station, then toast 'The Boss' and Frank Wild beside their graves in Grytviken cemetery.¹⁰⁴⁴

Linblad Expeditions/National Geographic advertised their centennial voyages by claiming that "Shackleton has been our inspiration, the 'patron saint' of our expeditions, since Lars-Eric Lindblad took the first citizen explorers to Antarctica in 1966."¹⁰⁴⁵ The company also offered a limited edition parka to celebrate the Shackleton centenary:

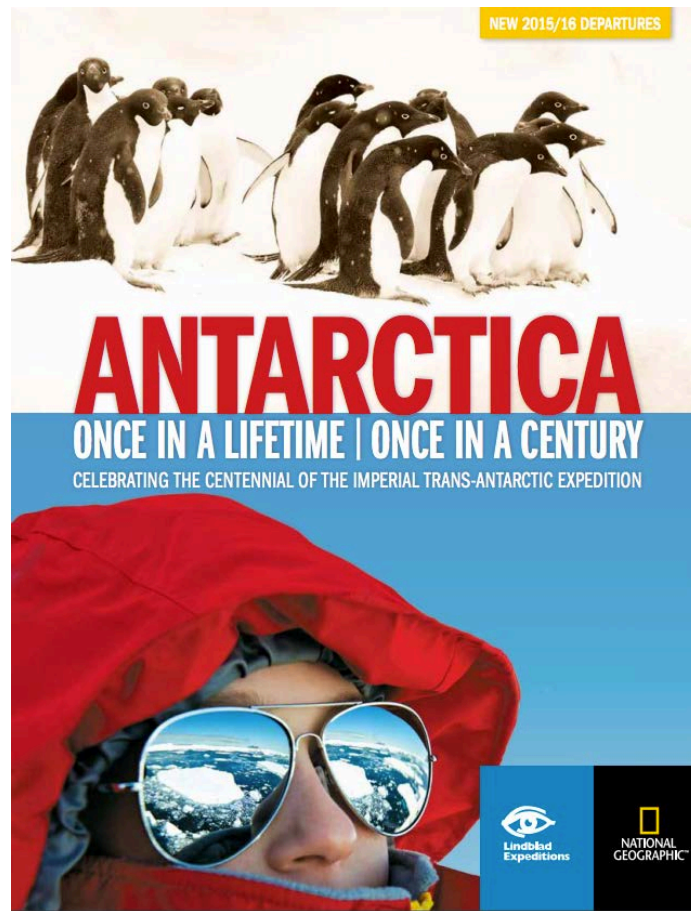
Designed specifically for the Centennial, this distinctive patch on your parka indicates that you were there during a special moment in Antarctica's history, and marks you as a polar explorer.¹⁰⁴⁶

Tourists therefore have the opportunity to follow in the footsteps of Heroic Era figures both literally and metaphorically, adding further layers to the history of heroism in the Antarctic in the process.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Aurora Expeditions, "2016-2018 Antarctica," 24.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Lindblad Expeditions, "Celebrating the Centennial."

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ibid.



*Figure 8.3: Lindblad / National Geographic Antarctic tourism brochure cover, 2014
(Source: Lindblad Expeditions / National Geographic, 2014)*

The sites frequented by tourists are also revealing of the extent to which the dominant Heroic Era narratives still linger about the continent. For those who travel into the Ross Sea region, the historic huts of explorers Scott and Shackleton are drawcards.¹⁰⁴⁷ These huts are maintained by the New Zealand Antarctic Heritage Trust, which has the mission “to conserve, share and encourage the spirit of exploration.”¹⁰⁴⁸ Every year a team of conservators travel south to dig out the winter’s accumulation of ice and snow from the huts’ interiors, and to undertake maintenance and repair, in order to ensure “the expedition bases and thousands of artefacts left behind survive and are preserved for the benefit of current and future generations.”¹⁰⁴⁹ Dodds and

¹⁰⁴⁷ Heritage Expeditions, *In the footsteps of Scott & Shackleton* 6 Feb 2010.

¹⁰⁴⁸ New Zealand Antarctic Heritage Trust, “About Us.”

¹⁰⁴⁹ Ibid.

Yusoff suggest

the pragmatic reasoning for the maintenance of such singular histories (and associated heritage) can perhaps be found in the Heritage Trust's close financial association with the tourist industry.¹⁰⁵⁰

This industry plays an important role in maintaining "a view of the Antarctic as a space of heroic endeavour, or adventure tourism."¹⁰⁵¹ Heritage and modern day leisure expeditions are not mutually exclusive, but rather they work together to both foment and promulgate a potent mythology about Antarctica, heroism, and exploration.

Hero vs Tourist: A Distinction of Prestige

The distinction between hero, adventurer, and tourist comes to the fore when examining small, deep-field expeditions that follow in the footsteps of Heroic Era explorers such as Scott, Amundsen, and Shackleton. Well-known examples in recent years include Ranulph Fiennes' "In the Footsteps of Scott" expedition (1984-1986), and Henry Worsley's 2008, 2011, and 2015 expeditions (see Chapter 3 for more on 'footsteps of' expeditions). Farley argues that those seeking to undertake a reenactment "'follow in Shackleton's wake' from the moment they conceive their expeditions and begin seeking sponsorship,"¹⁰⁵² and it is precisely this practice "that marks their activities as 'exploration' rather than 'tourism.'"¹⁰⁵³ In actual fact, the line is not so easy to draw; almost all Antarctic 'expeditions' are supported by a company such as Adventure Network International (ANI), so can be read as 'tourism' in that sense, even if they are not guided. Leane goes so far as to argue that "in a continent where no one lives permanently, and no one can last without outside support, everyone is, potentially, a tourist."¹⁰⁵⁴ The desire to make a distinction between tourism and other modes of travel is nothing new, nor is it exclusive to Antarctica. Tim

¹⁰⁵⁰ Dodds and Yusoff, "Settlement and Unsettlement," 151.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid., 151.

¹⁰⁵² Farley, "'By Endurance We Conquer,'" 241.

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid., 241.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Leane, *South Pole*, 176.

Edensor claims that “in their quest for distinction backpackers are often concerned to distinguish themselves from others – from package tourists, who they often regard as unindividualistic,”¹⁰⁵⁵ while Jackson notes that during the late 1800s the media baron George Newnes, financier of the first land-based Antarctic expedition, “made a conscious effort to distinguish his perspective as a ‘traveller’ from that of the mere ‘tourist.’”¹⁰⁵⁶ In Antarctica, intrepid expeditioners continue to invoke frames of heroism and extremity in order to legitimise and gain media coverage for their undertakings.

At the same time as representing themselves as unique expeditioners, many Antarctic explorers seek to travel not into new terrain, but where their role models have gone before. ‘In the footsteps of...’ expeditions do all they can to replicate earlier journeys, setting off at the same time of day, aiming to make particular milestones at the same time. For Henry Worsley, who led a 2008 expedition “In Shackleton’s Footsteps” to the South Pole (following the *Nimrod* route), such replication “was what this expedition was all about – to stand where Shackleton, Wild, Marshall and Adams had stood and to honour their astonishing achievement.”¹⁰⁵⁷ As Leane puts it, “nostalgia, rather than precedence, here becomes the main theme.”¹⁰⁵⁸ In many instances, recalling a famous narrative from an earlier era was also a way of gaining attention – and therefore sponsorship for the expedition.¹⁰⁵⁹ Heroic associations are therefore useful for modern day explorers as they seek funding. As the centenary examples examined above have shown, those associations also carry powerful symbolic weight. Tourism operators continue to draw upon the discourse of the heroic explorer, even as they deliver fully catered packaged holidays, while centenary celebrations have seen an upsurge of interest in historic Antarctic narratives. The figures of the Heroic Era may be depicted in sepia images, but their exploits are alive and well in the public imagination, and therefore continue to be valuable today.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Edensor, “Performing Tourism,” 74.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism*, 169.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Worsley, *In Shackleton’s Footsteps*, 103.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Leane, *South Pole*, 178.

¹⁰⁵⁹ In the case of Worsley, a family connection was also a selling point – the explorer was a descendent of Frank Worsley, who was with Shackleton on the *Endurance* expedition.

Marketing the Extreme Experience

In promotional materials for Antarctica, the ideas of adventure and extremity often go hand in hand. Adventure tourism is all about the creation of new experiences, which often involve “perceived risk or controlled danger associated with personal challenges, in a natural environment.”¹⁰⁶⁰ Antarctica’s remote location and chilly temperatures both heighten the element of danger – not only is the landscape hostile, but help is far from hand. Extreme tourism in Antarctica is a part of a wider selling of risk. Palmer has analysed the “corporate colonization of Everest,”¹⁰⁶¹ where money is seen to mitigate the risks of summiting the mountain. Focusing on the 1996 Everest disaster, when eight people on commercial climbing expeditions were killed in a storm, Palmer argues that

the subjective experience of the risk and dangers involved in climbing the world’s most feared and most famous mountain has been diluted, or stripped from the activity itself, through its construction and presentation in a range of commercial avenues.¹⁰⁶²

Antarctica, too, has been presented as a commercial destination, and carries many parallels to the Third Pole of Everest; the Antarctic is an extreme environment, safety is not guaranteed, and access is expensive. Nevertheless, tourists pay to “ski the last degree” to the South Pole,¹⁰⁶³ or to climb Vinson Massif,¹⁰⁶⁴ the tallest mountain on the continent. Paradoxically, the very activities that provide the risk experience act to decrease the perception of risk, as it is precisely the elements of both exclusivity and risk that make such propositions attractive.

Antarctica is hard to get to, with notoriously rough sea passages, and the choice of destination therefore marks a tourist as unique, daring and adventurous. The extremity frame also comes through in advertisements for unusual Antarctic

¹⁰⁶⁰ Morrison and Sung, “Adventure Tourism,” 11.

¹⁰⁶¹ Palmer, “Shit Happens,” 332.

¹⁰⁶² Ibid., 330.

¹⁰⁶³ Antarctic Logistics and Expeditions, “Ski Last Degree.”

¹⁰⁶⁴ Adventure Consultants, “Vinson Massif.”

tourism activities like marathons; what could be more extreme than taking part in extreme sports in Antarctica's extreme environment? Several operators now offer this experience,¹⁰⁶⁵ and other companies have used the event to leverage attention for their brands. A June 2004 advertisement for Adidas Supernova Cushion shoes showcases not only the footwear, but also "The Antarctic Marathon" itself (Figure 8.4). A map of Antarctica, photographs of a cruise ships (runners were transported on board the *Lyubov Orlova*), the runner and motivational speaker Kitty Cole, and a pair of runners hanging by their laces are the visual elements used to create a story about adversity and triumph. The information about the shoes themselves is the smallest text in the advertisement, and relegated to the bottom left hand corner. The advertisement's title text reads "26.2 miles by land; 422 laps around the 6th deck if you can't make it ashore," while the body goes on to describe the "gale force winds, snow squalls and subzero temperatures" that relegated the runners to the ship's deck.¹⁰⁶⁶ In the case of this particular race (6 February 2001), the text asks "Less than ideal? Maybe. Impossible? Never," linking the situation to the Adidas slogan "impossible is nothing."¹⁰⁶⁷

Running a marathon in Antarctica (or on an Antarctic cruise vessel) may be unexpected and challenging, but does not pose an insurmountable obstacle. Adidas made use of an Antarctic link in this instance to suggest their own footwear possesses the same qualities – that they can deal with unexpected terrain and extreme conditions, and adapt for purposes as needed. The layout of the advertisement is also unexpected, with a chaise lounge juxtaposed with paraphernalia – photos, a map – from the Antarctic marathon itself. The scrapbook quality of the imagery is low-key, and suggests that the viewer could attempt (and conquer) a similar challenge at home. This message is reinforced by Cole's appearance in the advertisement – she started running at 45 years old after her brother collapsed and died on a marathon course, and has since run

¹⁰⁶⁵ Companies active as of 2016 include "Ice Marathon" and "Marathon Tours & Travel."

¹⁰⁶⁶ For a runner's account of the event, see Chalufour, "Whistling Up the Wind."

¹⁰⁶⁷ The campaign features athletes "who challenge the impossible by taking risks, setting new records, changing conventions." Adidas, "Impossible is Nothing."

marathons on all 7 continents.¹⁰⁶⁸ The notion of Antarctica standing as a metaphor for a personal challenge is explored more below, but this is not the only way the continent functions in this context. Here the idea of collecting of the seventh continent is also associated with entry into another, more exclusive club – those who have taken part in an extreme race whilst visiting, thus marking themselves out as more daring and adventurous than anyone else. The Adidas brand also makes use of this association, suggesting that their tough product is ideal for fearless people who enjoy living life to the extreme and attempting the impossible. The implied message, familiar from Chapter 4, is that the shoes survived the blizzards of the far south, so will therefore perform admirably anywhere else on the planet. The advertisement also functioned to promote the Antarctic Marathon event, by virtue of the heading and associated text and imagery. The event regularly sells out, so requires little additional marketing beyond circles of endurance athletes – after all, who wouldn’t want to enjoy “60 suites. Ice views” after undertaking such a grueling race?

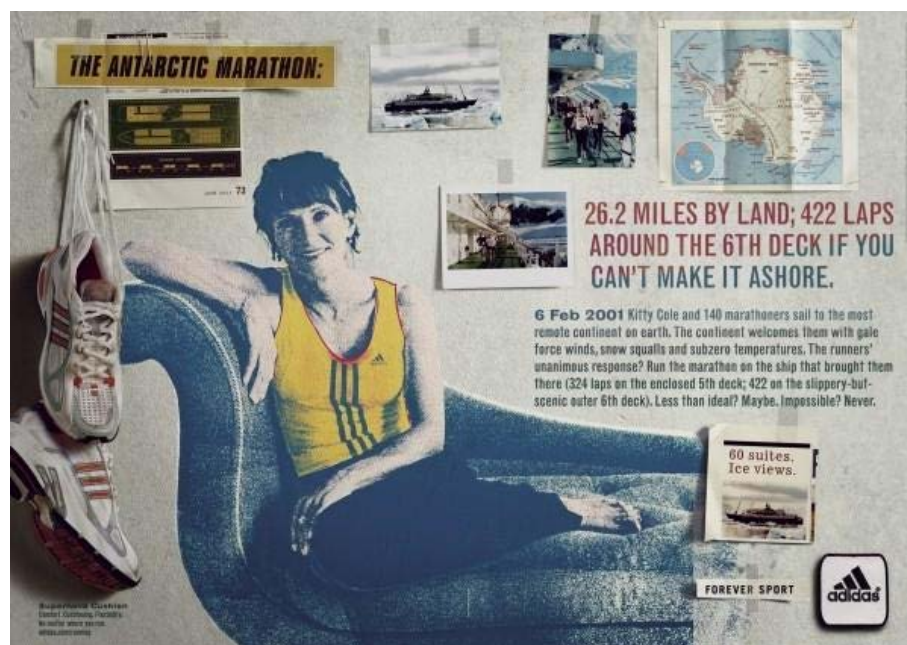


Figure 8.4: The Antarctic Marathon: Adidas Supernova Cushion advertisement by 180 Amsterdam, June 2004 (Source: “Antarctic Marathon,” Coloribus)

¹⁰⁶⁸ Abplanalp, “Running 26.2 Miles to Nowhere.”

Purity as Commodity

Purity is a concept that has also been called upon in the majority of Antarctic tour marketing. In some cases it is manifested through imagery of pristine icescapes, while in others, such as the Fathom Expeditions (Figure 8.5) that is due to sail under the title “Pure Antarctica,”¹⁰⁶⁹ it is more explicit. Promotional material for these voyages typically features blue skies, white ice, and flat calm oceans, and humans are on the margins of the image, if not cropped out altogether. The implied message is that Antarctica is untouched, pristine, pure – and just waiting to be discovered by the viewer. This imagery carries echoes of the ice-washing discussed in Chapter 6, because travel to Antarctica does come with an environmental price tag; ironically, “Antarctic cruise ships produce far higher amounts of CO₂ emissions per passenger than international trips on average.”¹⁰⁷⁰ Unsurprisingly, the environmental impacts of polar cruise travel are rarely mentioned in promotional material – the aim of which is to attract more guests onto the itinerary. Whenever Antarctica is cast as a pristine destination, visible exhaust from the vessels will be tactfully cropped out of the image.

A desire to encounter nature in a place devoid of humans can provide a strong motivating factor for prospective Antarctic tourists. In reflecting on his own voyage to Antarctica, South African communications scholar Keyan Tomaselli was struck by a fellow passenger’s negative reaction to a visit to Port Lockroy, which is run by the Antarctic Heritage Trust, and hosts a museum and gift shop: “She wanted ONLY nature, nature, nature (i.e., ice, penguins, birds and sea creatures).”¹⁰⁷¹ Penguins, sea creatures, and landscapes form an important part of the Antarctic imagery that is in common circulation; tins of food, magazines, and scientific equipment dating to the 1950s do not. Tourists often exhibit

¹⁰⁶⁹ Chimu Adventures have also marketed a voyage under the heading. “Pure Antarctica.” Chimu Adventures, “Pure Antarctica.”

¹⁰⁷⁰ Lamers, Eijgelaar, and Amelung, “Last Chance Tourism in Antarctica,” 29. Cruise vessels are built to run continuously for several decades, consuming large amounts of fuel in the process.

¹⁰⁷¹ Tomaselli, “Consuming Nature,” 337.

similar reactions when visiting Antarctic stations and encountering rubbish tips close to the landing sites; the everyday, human imagery is not congruent with their imagined version of Antarctica, and therefore not understood to be part of the 'real' Antarctic experience. Tomaselli goes on to provide further explanation for this reaction:

Nature was seen as a return to values, the healing of the body and mind ...
It was a quest for a return to innocence in an attempt to regain physical and spiritual healing.¹⁰⁷²

Themes of purity, wilderness, and transformation come through in these desires – whether it is possible to encounter such innocence is another question.



*Figure 8.5: Banner image from Fathom Expeditions website, 2017
(Source: Fathom Expeditions, "Pure Antarctica Voyage 2019")*

Despite the contradiction that visiting 'untouched' places will ultimately remove their untouched nature, these parts of the world hold strong allure. The desire to visit "isolated and untouched" (Figure 8.6) locations is shared by both Antarctic tourists and expeditioners: when travelling overland to the South Pole in 2008, Worsley was annoyed by signs of human presence in the Antarctic, such as skidoos, and planes flying overhead.¹⁰⁷³ The implication that wilderness should be devoid of people, save the one experiencing it raises questions of accessibility,

¹⁰⁷² Ibid., 337.

¹⁰⁷³ Worsley, *In Shackleton's Footsteps*, 107.

elitism, and environmental impacts. It is, however, a strong selling point: remote icescapes available only to those who book a tour. The preservation of (a perception of) wilderness is also a principle adhered to by tour operators:

IAATO's "wilderness etiquette" states that

IAATO Member vessels are to be kept out of sight from each other as far as is practicable and work co-operatively to ensure that they give a 'buffer' time (of a recommended 30 to 60 minutes) between visits at landing sites.¹⁰⁷⁴

Having been fed a diet of imagery featuring glaciers, icebergs, penguins, and snowy panoramic vistas, with not another ship in sight, tourists bring a strong expectation that their Antarctic experience will reinforce the remote, wild, and pure aspects of the continent.



*Figure 8.6: Hurtigruten banner advertisement for Antarctica, casting the place as "isolated and untouched," 1 August 2017
(Source: www.hurtigruten.com/destinations/antarctica)*

Kilroy and Melting Ice: "Go Before It's Too Late"

Not surprisingly, tourism advertisements are largely uncritical of the environmental effects of actually travelling to Antarctica. As discussed above, elements such as the wilderness and purity of Antarctica are often foregrounded in campaigns, while any human impacts (including the carbon footprint of airline or cruise ship travel)¹⁰⁷⁵ are ignored. These contradictions are highlighted in a

¹⁰⁷⁴ International Association of Antarctica Tourism Operators, "ATCM 33 Appendix A."

¹⁰⁷⁵ Pearse, *Green Wash*, 132.

sculptural April 2006 advertisement for student travel agency KILROY (Figure 8.7). Advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi¹⁰⁷⁶ explain:

To highlight the more off-beat destinations KILROY has to offer we placed an iceberg on the grounds of a University Campus in Copenhagen. This allowed our primary target (KILROY are the student travel experts) to witness the melting of 'Antarctica' proving the tagline for KILROY Travels: 'Go before it's too late.' (Figure 8.7)

While the advertisement is unlikely to make the student audience rush to book a trip to Antarctica, the installation is eye catching and raises brand awareness for the travel agency. KILROY had previously used the tagline "go before it's too late" across a range of advertisements with no link to the Antarctic.¹⁰⁷⁷ In this particular instance, Antarctica was employed because of its association with melting ice. The melting ice, in turn, acted as a good metaphor for the 'too late' message – in this visual version, being too late means the ice is no more and there's nothing to see.

The Kilroy advertisement is environmentally problematic – it carries an anthropocentric message, urging the audience not to miss out, rather than avoid going at all. It also highlights one of the prime issues with representing climate change in a visual medium: Carvalho notes that "climate change is particularly 'invisible', given the nature of the problem and the temporal and spatial scales that characterize it,"¹⁰⁷⁸ and the KILROY advertisement addresses these in a novel way. The original advertisement took the form of a sculpture, meaning that the temporal aspect of climate change could be accounted for – the ice melted over a period of time. Subsequent visual representations of the original installation – including the version above – include several panels, with images taken at intervals to mark the passing of time. This allows the advertisement to do what single static images cannot; it represents change, and a dynamic

¹⁰⁷⁶ The Advertising Agency were Saatchi & Saatchi, Copenhagen, Denmark (Creative Director: Simon Wooller, Art Director: Cliff Kagawa Holm, Silas Jansson, Copywriter: Cliff Kagawa Holm, Silas Jansson).

¹⁰⁷⁷ Another 2006 example did include an iceberg overlaid with graffiti. In other examples, the tagline related to ideas of authenticity in places such as the African savannah and British industrial heritage. Cederholm and Hultman, "Tourists and Global Environmental Change," 298.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Carvalho, "Reporting the Climate Change Crisis," 489.

environment. By using melting ice over a period of time to mimic processes underway in Antarctica, this Kilroy advertisement both echoes the series of Larsen B ice shelf collapse images (discussed in Chapter 6, Figure 7.1) and neatly illustrates the trope of fragility. Here, that trope is harnessed to market a range of unrelated travel destinations, placing Antarctica as central part of a global climate system. Symbolically, this is last chance tourism at its finest. For Antarctica itself, the puddle left in the final panel predicts bad news.

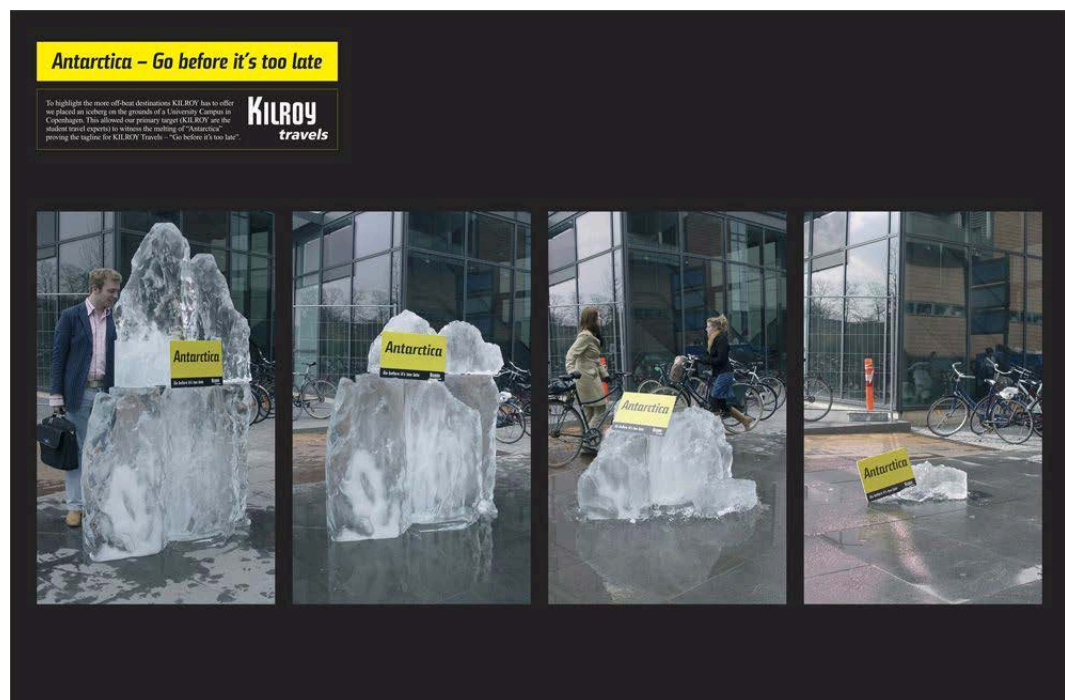


Figure 8.7: Installation advertisement for Student travel agency KILROY, 2006 (Source: Kilroy, "Antarctica - Go before it's too late")

From heroism to extremity, and purity to fragility, the themes addressed in Chapters 3 to 6 have also been deployed in advertising material designed to attract tourists to the continent itself. That they are not used in equal proportions reveals the sway that the heroism frame (and the associated idea of extremity) continues to hold over the public imagination of Antarctica. Imagery that invokes notions of purity and wilderness is also favoured, and this acts as a promise to those who purchase voyages, standing in for the photographs they themselves could take. The fragility frame is often avoided, largely because of

problematic associations between (global) tourism and its environmental impacts. The themes explored throughout this thesis are not exclusive; advertisements for Antarctic tourism experiences can, and often do, activate more than one framing of the place. The idea of the continent as a place for transformation is recurrent, not only in tourism materials, but also in travel writing and literature; Leane therefore dedicates an entire chapter of *Antarctica in Fiction* to “The Transforming Nature of Antarctic Travel.”¹⁰⁷⁹ This chapter analyses the various manifestations of the transformation narrative, both on the ice and back home. Much as melting ice can be used to stand in for climate change, the idea of Antarctica can also be used to stand in for any challenge faced by an individual. The following section moves briefly away from Antarctica as a physical continent, to analyse the ways the idea of the place has been used as a metaphor for personal development. It shows the notion that visiting Antarctica will transform a person can easily be adapted to the domestic sphere by renaming any transformational process as ‘Antarctic.’

Metaphors and Challenge: What’s Your Antarctic?

Antarctica can be used to signify not only a place, but also a state of mind or a personal goal. The use of the continent in such a metaphorical way became particularly evident in late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and is often linked with the narrative (and burgeoning reputation) of Shackleton. As outlined in Chapter 3, a number of management books and leadership courses have drawn upon Shackleton’s exploits. His supposed quote “everyone has an Antarctic” is called up in order to market personal development products (see Chapter 3 for details).¹⁰⁸⁰ The quote, like his famed job advertisement, seems to be apocryphal. Perhaps the closest source is a character in Thomas Pynchon’s novel *V*, who declares, “You wait. Everyone has an Antarctic”¹⁰⁸¹ with

¹⁰⁷⁹ Leane, *Antarctica in Fiction*, 133-152.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Examples include the annual Shackleton Summer School, and books including Perkins et al, “Leading at the Edge” and Morrell and Capparell, “Shackleton’s Way.”

¹⁰⁸¹ Pynchon, *V*, 241.

connotations of foreboding rather than challenge.¹⁰⁸² Despite these confused origins, the idea that everyone has an Antarctic, or a challenge to overcome, carries powerful cultural currency. Casting Antarctica as a metaphor, thus allowing the wider public imaginative access to the continent, has also been a lucrative proposition for a number of companies.

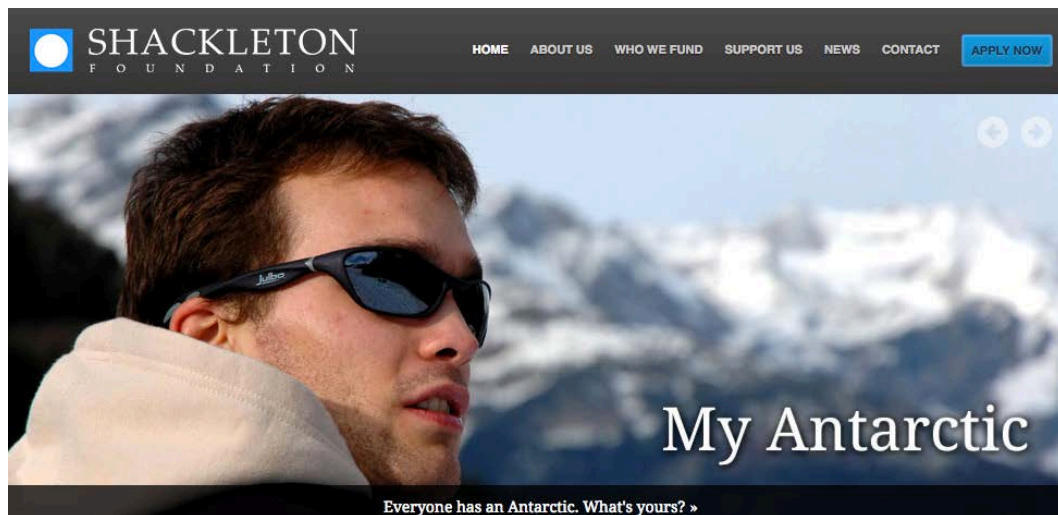


Figure 8.8: Shackleton Foundation Website Banner Image, 2017
(Source: Shackleton Foundation. "Welcome to the Shackleton Foundation")

Antarctica – and its heroes – have also acted as metaphors for challenge in a range of situations far away from the poles. The continent itself has been used to stand for personal challenges, as typified by the rhetoric of The Shackleton Foundation (Figure 8.8), and a 2014/15 campaign for Grape Nuts cereal. The Shackleton Foundation was founded in 2007 by descendants of those involved in Shackleton's *Nimrod* expedition (1907-09) and its mission is "to support social entrepreneurs who exemplify the spirit of Shackleton."¹⁰⁸³ As explorer Henry Worsley put it, in modern times "Shackleton's name lives on as a synonym for courage, bravery and most of all, leadership"¹⁰⁸⁴ The foundation website explains the parallels between Shackleton helping his crew to overcome doubts and fears

¹⁰⁸² Leane, *Antarctica in Fiction*, 4.

¹⁰⁸³ Shackleton Foundation, "Welcome to the Shackleton Foundation."

¹⁰⁸⁴ Worsley, *In Shackleton's Footsteps*, 247.

in the face of adversity, and modern day leaders who demonstrate similar resilience and big-picture thinking: “We are looking for individuals who display those same characteristics of courage and resilience, who have a big idea to help others (we call it your ‘Antarctic’) and are prepared to take the risk to turn it into reality.”¹⁰⁸⁵ Another way of defining this ‘Antarctic’ is as something that “scares you, but a challenge you would also secretly love to conquer”¹⁰⁸⁶ – for instance, former All Blacks rugby captain Anton Oliver, who had no musical background, took on the challenge of performing *Peter and the Wolf* with the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra.¹⁰⁸⁷ The question “what’s your Antarctic?” allows any difficulty to be translated into an icescape that is ready to be conquered. It therefore harks back to much earlier ways of seeing Antarctica, conjuring up the narrative of blank space waiting to be trodden and claimed by hardy explorers.

Grape-Nuts cereal ran a similar advertisement series, based on the idea of Antarctica and challenge, in 2014 (see Figure 8.9 and Figure 8.10). As part of its wider “What’s Your Mountain?” campaign (launched in 2013 to mark the 60th anniversary of the first summiting of Everest),¹⁰⁸⁸ the company sponsored an Antarctic expedition in which cancer survivor Sean Swarner and film director Dave Ohlson hiked to the South Pole. The South Pole was intended to stand in for a number of other challenges faced by those back home; Ohlson himself explained “I hope our journey inspires others to conquer their own personal mountains and strive to meet their goals.”¹⁰⁸⁹ As was the case with the earlier Antarctic expeditions of the Heroic Era, media played an important role in the trek, only this time the delay in relaying information was much less. The men provided images and short videos for use on social media platforms, and the “Antarctic Challenge” was also advertised via the Grape-Nuts Facebook page. The company drew upon its earlier Antarctic links in the associated marketing material, with a short promotional video opening with the line “80 years ago,

¹⁰⁸⁵ Shackleton Foundation, “Welcome to the Shackleton Foundation.”

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Elliot, “Grape-Nuts Wants You To Climb Every Mountain.” This campaign was created by Toronto-based agency Birthplace (part of the Grey Group division of WPP). It included a range of elements such as a TV commercial, events, promotions, a mobile app, and a social media presence.

¹⁰⁸⁹ “Post Grape-Nuts Brings the “What’s Your Mountain?” Campaign to the South Pole.”

Grape-Nuts helped Admiral Richard Byrd reach the South Pole. This year, we sent one man back.”¹⁰⁹⁰ Grape-Nuts Marketing Director Mangala D’Sa also called upon historic links, asserting that

Grape-Nuts has been a part of some of the greatest expeditions of the past hundred years, and the latest Grape-Nuts Antarctica trip will surely be another historic moment for the brand¹⁰⁹¹

Customers were encouraged to consider what their own mountain or challenge might be throughout the entire “What’s Your Mountain?” campaign, and advertising material suggested that no matter what form the challenge took, Grape-Nuts would help consumers to succeed. After all, as one of the Antarctic recordings put it, “If Grape-Nuts can take someone to the end of the earth, where will it take you?”¹⁰⁹² Both the Shackleton Foundation and Grape-Nuts cereal examples show Antarctica being used as a metaphor, to stand in for other challenges in peoples’ lives. Antarctica is not limited by its icy edges, then, but rather extends much further north through imagination, metaphor, and the concept of overcoming adversity.



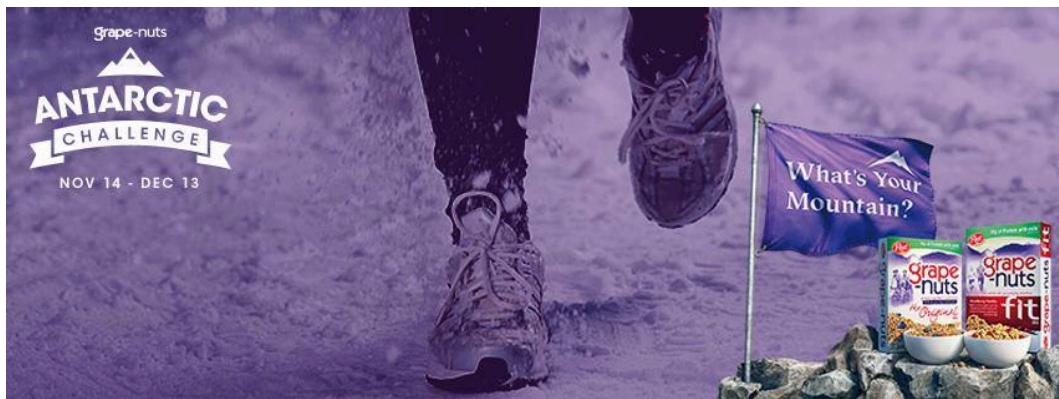
Figure 8.9: Banner from the Grape-Nuts Facebook page, 31 Dec 2014

(Source: www.facebook.com/grapenutscereal)

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ursus Films, “GrapeNuts Antarctica.” A copy of the General Foods map created for Byrd’s second Antarctic expedition – originally available to those who mailed in Grape-Nuts cereal tokens during the 1930s – was also offered as a “random giveaway” prize to a member of the public.

¹⁰⁹¹ Prepared Foods, “Grape-Nuts Fit Granola Re-Launch.” Another well-known expedition that used Grape-Nuts is Sir Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay’s first summiting of Mt. Everest (1953).

¹⁰⁹² Ursus Films, “GrapeNuts Antarctica.”



*Figure 8.10: Banner from the Grape-Nuts Facebook page, 15 Nov 2014
(Source: www.facebook.com/grapenutscereal)*

At times the idea of transformation through tourism also takes on a philanthropic angle, where travel to Antarctica is used to support another cause. Such is the case with a Chimu adventures and McGrath Foundation advertisement from February 2015 for “PinKtarctica” (Figure 8.11). The half page advertisement appeared in the Royal Automobile Club of Tasmania (RACT) magazine beneath an advertorial about Antarctica as a destination, and was used to promote a fundraising voyage for the McGrath foundation,¹⁰⁹³ which raises funds to support those affected by breast cancer. Pink is the colour associated with breast cancer awareness, hence the name of the voyage. The top left hand corner of the page is dominated by an icy image of a zodiac cruising in front of a glacier, beneath the headline “A life-changing Antarctic adventure.” The choice of language immediately suggests transformation, and this theme is continued in the body text of the advertorial: “Due to the life-changing nature of Antarctic journeys, Chimu Adventures saw it as the perfect location for their next exclusive ‘departure with a cause’.” The text goes on to explain how “Everyone who travels to Antarctica returns with a greater respect for the environment – and travellers with Chimu are also helping families in need during difficult times in their lives.” This mention of assistance – in both environmental and human terms – speaks directly to the viewer’s intrinsic values, such as benevolence and

¹⁰⁹³ McGrath Foundation, “About the McGrath Foundation.”

universalism.¹⁰⁹⁴ The advertisement in the bottom half of the page also features icy imagery, and is dominated by an iceberg bathed in the pink light of a setting sun. The message is simple: “Join this extraordinary 12 day journey to Antarctica supporting the McGrath Foundation,” and change both your life, and those of others.



A life-changing Antarctic adventure

Antarctica is like no place on earth – it will grab hold of your being, clear your head-space and intensify each and every conscious moment.

Like looking at life through a magnifying glass, everything is immense in both size and presence, allowing no room in your mind for anything other than now. Though often referred to as the most hostile place on this planet, it couldn't be more peaceful, so alien yet so familiar, so white yet so colourful, so quiet yet so busy, a truly fascinating juxtaposition that can only be understood by those who have been there.

Due to the life-changing nature of Antarctic journeys, Chimu Adventures saw it as the perfect location for their next exclusive 'departure with a cause', where they and their guests can make a difference to more than just those who travel with them. A very simple way to give back is simply by asking people thinking of travelling to Antarctica to join the exclusive journey aptly named PinKtarctica, where proceeds from the berths sold will directly benefit the McGrath Foundation.

The McGrath Foundation's mission is to place breast care nurses in communities right across Australia and to increase breast awareness in young Australians. It is not cheap to place these nurses and the costs to maintain the service is ongoing.

Everyone who travels to Antarctica returns with a greater respect for the environment – and travellers with Chimu are also helping families in need during difficult times of their lives. In this way Chimu Adventures are making a difference. Join Chimu and be one of these unique travellers.

For more information contact your nearest RACT Travel office or call 1300 368 111.

PinKtarctica
Join this extraordinary 12 day journey to Antarctica supporting the McGrath Foundation.
With special guests Tracy Bevan and *Ken Done*

Chimu Adventures
The Latin America and Antarctica Specialists

Departs Ushuaia, Argentina: 18 November 2015 | From US\$4850* per person, twin share.

TRAVEL by RACT For further information please call 1300 368 111 or contact your nearest branch:
Bumbe 6434 2955 | Uffverstone 6425 8050 | Devonport 6421 1977 | Launceston 6335 5455
Kingston 6242 3251 | Rosny 6312 6777 | Hobart - Murray St 6332 6455 | www.ract.com.au/travel

CRUISE travel centre
a Division of RACT Tourism Pty Ltd
Shop 1, 115 Collins St, HOBBART
call 6222 9222

*Conditions Apply: Price advertised are per person, twin share only and are correct as at 18 Dec 14. For single travellers same rate match ups may be available on request. Prices are based on USD and are subject to change. Spaces are limited and subject to availability at time of booking. The price shown is for cash payment. Credit card fees of up to 7% will apply for any additional travel arrangements outside this offer unless otherwise stated. Please ask your RACT Travel consultant at time of booking. RACT Travel Pty Ltd ABN 45 546 530 805.

February / March 2015 67

Figure 8.11: PinKtarctica Voyage Advertisement, 2015
(Source: RACT Magazine, Feb/March 2015, 67)

¹⁰⁹⁴ Common Cause Foundation, “How Values Work.”

So far this chapter has demonstrated how a short trip to Antarctica can change someone's perspective – even if the 'Antarctica' visited is an imagined version. Tourists are promised a life-changing experience as they voyage across the seas to the end of the world and back, while those back home have been encouraged to look south as they work towards their own goals. If such a small dose of Antarctica can have such a large effect on peoples' ways of seeing, what, then, of those who make Antarctica their home for months – or even years – at a time? The following section makes the leap from metaphorical uses of Antarctica back to real ice, examining recruitment advertisements aimed at those seeking work in the far south. When it comes to recruitment, the familiar themes from throughout this thesis are not far away, although the implications of their deployment are not always straightforward.

Working at the Edge of the World

Shackleton's apocryphal Antarctic advertisement famously sought men "for hazardous journey, small wages, bitter cold, long months of complete darkness, constant danger, safe return doubtful" (see Figure 1.2). While health and safety requirements mean that working at an Antarctic station is far less risky than a century ago, the challenges of cold and darkness remain for the thousands of people who head south for work each year. Antarctica is often thought of as a wilderness, without any humans; in fact, it is home to between 1000 (winter) and 5000 (summer) people, based at a range of stations that are run by National Antarctic Programmes. Contrary to popular opinion, those who head south are not only scientists: support staff, including chefs, engineers, carpenters, communications operators and guides are also vital to the operations.¹⁰⁹⁵ In order to be appointed to these positions, people respond to recruitment advertisements. These advertisements commonly make use of the dominant

¹⁰⁹⁵ Antarctica New Zealand's "Apprent-ICE" programme (2014, 2016) to send an apprentice to work in Antarctica was designed to raise the public profile of trades jobs in Antarctica. As Antarctica New Zealand CEO Peter Beggs put it, "The Apprent-ICE is designed to enhance the awareness of the building industry about Antarctica and the interdependent relationships required to work in one of the harshest environments on the planet." Quoted in Cooper, "Antarctic Apprent-ICE."

narratives about Antarctica, and feed into the existing Antarctic imaginary. They cannot be “just a promotional piece for the Antarctic,”¹⁰⁹⁶ however – instead, the advertisements need to clearly communicate that there is serious job to do. Examining the narratives present in several job postings reveals how Antarctica has been represented as a working environment in recent times.

When recruiting for the 2017/18 season, the Australian Antarctic Division (AAD) used the tagline “Picture yourself here?” The phrase, which was superimposed over Antarctic landscapes that featured ice cliffs, penguins, sunsets, and trekking expeditioners, appeared in social media postings, on recruitment websites, and in print advertisements.¹⁰⁹⁷ A full-page version of the advertisement in Virgin Australia’s inflight magazine *Voyeur* (circulation 429,000)¹⁰⁹⁸ showcases emperor penguins in front of a towering ice face (Figure 8.12). The headline invites the viewer into the scene, by asking a direct question, whilst also evoking the urge to photograph the Antarctic. It then offers a way to make that imagined experience of standing amongst the penguins a reality, thanks to the subheading: “Work and live in Antarctica.” Smaller text clarifies the jobs available:

Now recruiting for electricians, chefs, carpenters, plumbers, diesel mechanics, communications officers, plant operators, aircraft support and other professional and support roles. (Figure 8.12)

Unlike job advertisements on recruitment websites, which are usually very specific, this is a broad sweep of positions the common element tying them together is the Antarctic location.

Rather than appealing to a small number of technically competent applicants, the AAD advertisement is designed to prompt viewers to imagine themselves in the Antarctic, with all of the wildlife and sublime icescapes that entails. Should that fantasy prove appealing, they are offered a link (jobs.antarctica.gov.au) where they can learn more. Tellingly, the buildings, airstrips, motor vehicles and offices that will feature in the work (and living) environment of successful candidates

¹⁰⁹⁶ BAS & Co., “Antarctic Answers.”

¹⁰⁹⁷ This was the first time the AAD has used Facebook and web banner advertisements, and they attribute this new approach to the steep rise in applications for the 2017/18 season.

¹⁰⁹⁸ “Virgin Australia Voyeur,” *Pacific Magazines*.

are not mentioned at all. Instead, the image gives the impression that the penguin colony is standing in for all of the people – such as chefs and carpenters – who will be on the base. Given that very few people will ever visit Antarctica – let alone work there – the AAD advertisement serves a second function: to keep Antarctica alive in the imaginations of the wider Australian public. That imagined version is overwhelmingly visual, characterized by penguins and ice familiar from the purity and fragility frames – hence the use of such imagery here, where instantly recognisable visual elements act as shorthand for the continent.

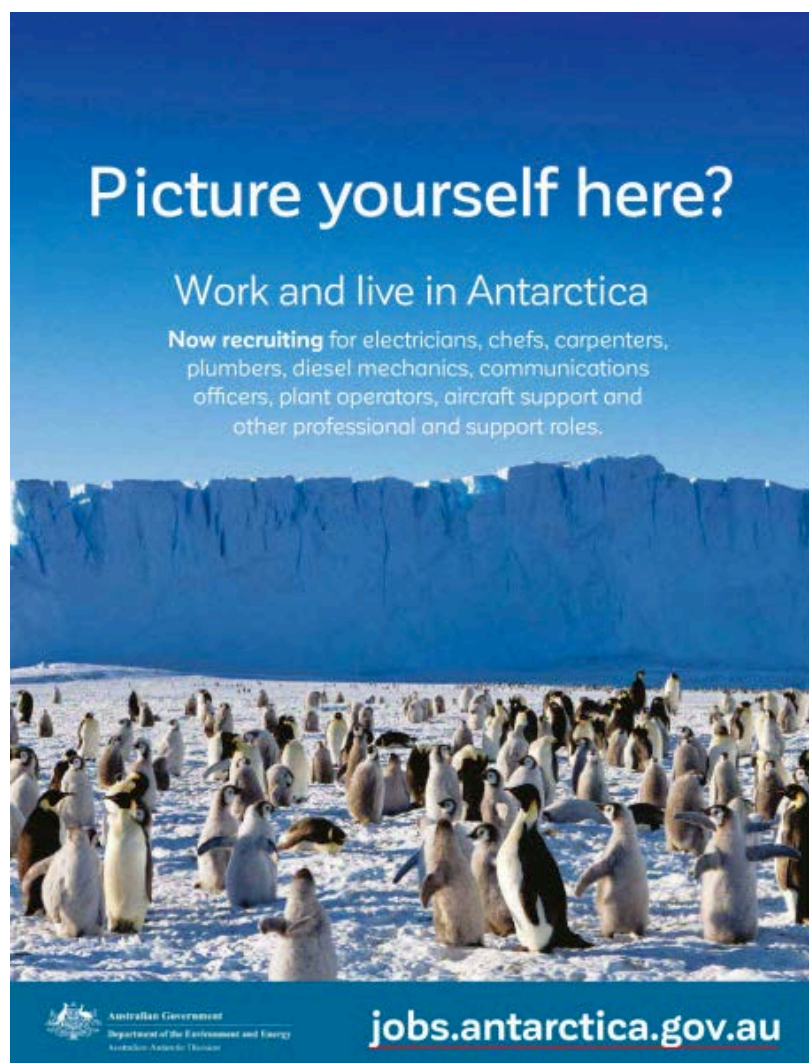


Figure 8.12: “Picture yourself here?” AAD recruitment advertisement, 2017

(Source: Voyeur, Jan 2017, 77)

The award-winning 2010 Field Assistants advertisement for the British Antarctic Survey (BAS) takes a different approach, evoking the themes of heroism and extremity in order to attract recruits. The full-page advertisement is dominated by an image of a blizzard, with a solitary figure and a partially obscured tent in the bottom third (Figure 8.13). This layout echoes imagery familiar from the Heroic Era of exploration, such as Frank Hurley's famous photograph of men doubled over against the wind at Cape Denison. The main text appeals to the viewer's assumed competence, reading "The fuel is stored 10 metres to your left. But you already knew that." In order to understand what the advertisement is for, it is necessary to push the foregrounded image to the edges of your attention, and focus instead on the fine print in the body text, so the advertisement itself acts like a first test for prospective applicants.

That fine print states that the position is for "Field Assistants – 6 or 18 month contracts," then goes on to create a scenario for the viewer to construct in their imagination:

The scientists need to drill 2,000 metres.

The drilling will last another 28 hours.

The nearest station is 600 miles away.

The UK is 8591 miles to your North.

The route to join us is 1.3cm below (Figure 8.13)¹⁰⁹⁹

The first four lines read like a thriller – building up to ask what *you* would do in this kind of isolated situation. They are undermined by the fifth line, which draws attention to the ad itself and makes the reader conscious of the medium. It also transitions from the sublime (drilling 2km down into the ice) to the banal (contact details 1.3cm down the page), creating a humorous disconnect. The result is a combination of seriousness and wittiness that encourages the viewer to step back and see the bigger picture of the advertisement itself, as well as contemplate the skills needed for the job on offer. Art Director Johanna De Mornay Davies described how the "ad captured the excitement and challenge of

¹⁰⁹⁹ This line was followed by a small gap, then a link to the British Antarctic Survey recruitment website, and a telephone number – the "route" to a job in Antarctica.

the role by showing how deserted you are out on the field.”¹¹⁰⁰ The advertisement’s ability to evoke the harsh Antarctic environment was recognised by others in the advertising industry – Field Assistants won a prize for Best Copywriting at the Recruitment Business Awards 2010,¹¹⁰¹ and was a finalist in the 2011 RAD awards Print Advertising category.¹¹⁰²

Field Assistants calls upon the British Antarctic Survey’s proclaimed cultural values of innovation (creative thinking is required in order to decode the advertisement’s message) and excellence (through the line “you already knew that”).¹¹⁰³ Antarctica is presented as both dangerous and majestic, and this advertisement suggests that the ability to see the continent through several different lenses simultaneously is an asset for anyone applying to work at BAS. The ability to reconcile an imagined version of Antarctica (extreme, exciting) with the mundane realities of everyday life (work, base maintenance) is also an advantage. Those mundane aspects of the jobs are not always obvious, however, as the imagery used in initial recruitment advertisements is designed to catch the viewer’s attention, and to resonate with their existing notions of Antarctica, rather than to create a mimetic depiction of the available position. This approach can be problematic, and lead to false expectations for those who apply to the advertised positions, particularly given that scoring high on “experience seeking” and “need for challenge”¹¹⁰⁴ have been shown to lead to poorer job performance overall.¹¹⁰⁵

¹¹⁰⁰ De Mornay Davies, “British Antarctic Survey.”

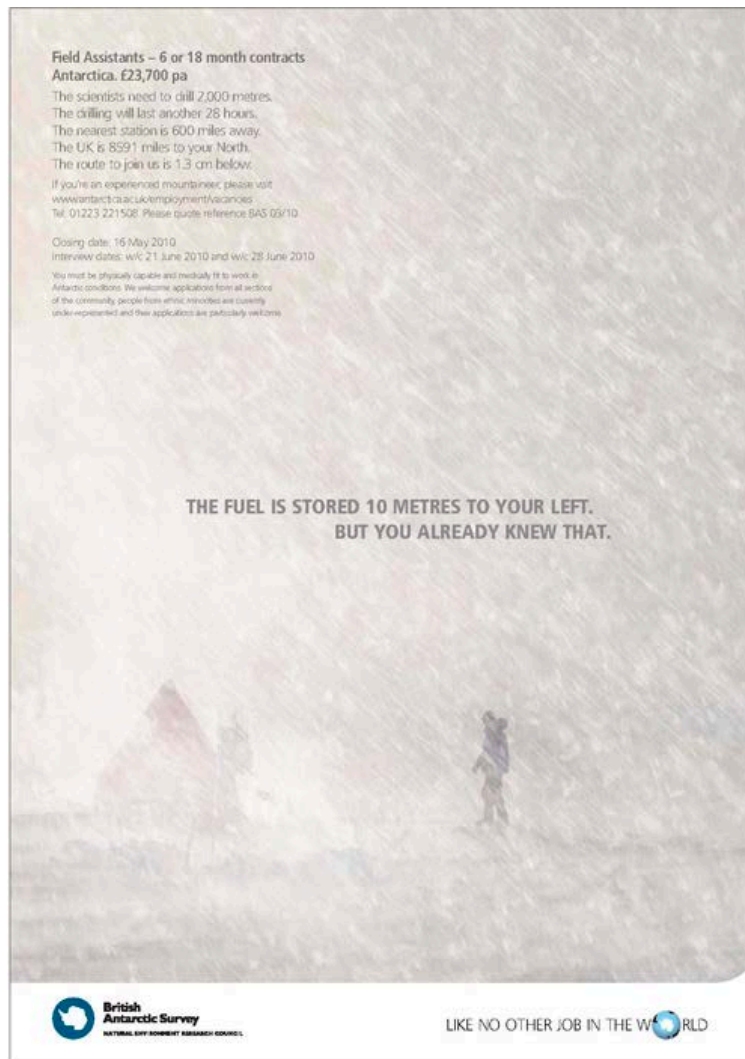
¹¹⁰¹ Another BAS advertisement entitled “Working in a Winter Wonderland” won an award in the “Construction/Technical/Engineering/IT Sector Recruitment Advert” category. The Drum, “Recruitment Business Awards announced.” A 2009 Antarctic Trades recruitment campaign was also recognised as Recruitment Work of the Year by the Public Sector People Managers’ Association – the advertisements featured a plane on an ice runway, and the caption “A tradesman’s entrance like no other.” Garth, “Life in the Freezer.”

¹¹⁰² De Mornay Davies, “British Antarctic Survey.”

¹¹⁰³ British Antarctic Survey, “Our cultural Values.”

¹¹⁰⁴ Biersner and Hogan, “Personality Correlates,” 491.

¹¹⁰⁵ Nielsen and Jaksic, “Extremity and the Mundane,” 45.



*Figure 8.13: BAS “Field Assistants” recruitment advertisement, 2010
(Source: De Mornay Davies, “British Antarctic Survey.”)*

Recruitment advertisements for the British Antarctic Survey run with the slogan “Like no other job in the world” in the bottom right hand corner. The “o” features an image of the globe, centered on Antarctica. This combination of slogan and image sets Antarctica apart as somewhere special, building upon the idea of Antarctic exceptionalism. It also sets up the expectation that the job advertised will be exceptional, and different to jobs anywhere else in the world. Yet, while field assistants do get to spend plenty of time in remote field camps, for many other staff this is not the case – most jobs at Antarctic stations are mundane, consisting of routine maintenance of the station and its surrounds. Such tasks are not glamorous or exotic enough to warrant being depicted on a poster. Given

this, the combination of the extreme image and “like no other” slogan could lead to false expectations of what working in Antarctica is really like. It is important for any National Antarctic Programme to be mindful of its projected image, and to ensure recruitment material sets realistic expectations.

The recruitment advertisements considered here prompt the viewer to actively imagine Antarctica, then put themselves in the frame. They draw upon existing elements of the Antarctic imaginaries to do so, offering a shortcut from the viewer’s own world into the one depicted. The advertisements considered differ from traditional recruitment advertisements in that it is the idea of Antarctica that is most important, rather than a specific skill set. In the initial advertisements, this idea is used as a hook, and those who are interested can follow the links to the National Antarctic Programme websites, and read the full criteria. For the purposes of this project, it is significant that the themes that have been found in a range of other advertising for both Antarctic products and tourism (including heroism and extremity) are also used in recruitment campaigns, to attract prospective workers to the continent. The Antarctica of the mind is a powerful force, not only for selling, but also for recruitment purposes.

In Summary: Travelling and Transforming

The introduction to this thesis began with an overview of Antarctica’s commercial past, including sealing and whaling. This chapter brings us full circle, with a return to Antarctica as a tangible and valuable continent. This time the desire is not for resources, so much as for the continent itself – both the experience of ice, and the abstracted idea of Antarctica. Cultural input – films, books, images, and advertisements – all shape our imagined versions of Antarctica. Those imagined versions also have an impact on the way the continent is experienced by those lucky few that visit; their preconceptions and expectations weigh as heavily upon the mind as do their suitcases upon the docks. In “Valuing Antarctica,” Erin Neufeld outlines a future scenario where “wilderness and aesthetic values are commodities that are sold to the global

consumer society, as experiences or concepts.”¹¹⁰⁶ In many ways, such a future is already here. Antarctica has become a commodity in its own right, to be visited, photographed, worked on, and figured as a metaphor. Representations of Antarctica in tourism advertising material play an important role in shaping how the continent is imagined as a destination. The continent has been painted as a place for heroes, a place of extremity, a place of purity, a place in need of protection, and as a place of transformation. That transformation can be physical – as in the melting and shifting of the ice – but it is often used metaphorically as well. Tourists talk of having a life-changing experience, while even those back home are able to participate via personal challenges, thanks to the question “what’s your Antarctic?” Antarctica is very much a part of the global system – not only in terms of the environment but also – as the job advertisements have shown – of commerce. In a time where visiting the ends of the earth is no longer out of the question, Antarctica holds more allure than ever before.

¹¹⁰⁶ Neufeld et al, “Valuing Antarctica,” 248.

Conclusion: Brand Antarctica, Past, Present and Future

Ever since the adoption of the Antarctic Treaty in 1959, commercialisation has been seen as anathema to Antarctic values. This attitude is central to ongoing debates about resources and tourism,¹¹⁰⁷ where Antarctica is commonly framed as a fragile place to protect – and yet the continent continues to be valuable, both in its materiality and symbolism. This thesis provides the historical, social, cultural and geographic context for understanding the ways the south has been used to sell products, as well as stories, experiences and ideas. In doing so, it reveals how the idea of a place immune to the interests of the markets has in fact been put to work culturally for commercial purposes, ever since the first interactions with the continent.

Those who have headed to the far south over the past few centuries have been whalers, sealers, explorers, scientists, station support personnel, sailors, and wealthy tourists. Historically they have largely been male, and white. This raises a series of questions. Whose gaze determines the images of the region that circulate in the public domain? And for whom are these representations being produced? Answering these questions requires a thorough understanding of the context in which each representation occurred. That context includes other forms of cultural production in which Antarctica is represented (books, films, photographs); national, social, and political circumstances; and ideological assumptions around race and gender. This thesis has demonstrated how questions of power and commerce help define the cultural context within which Antarctic images and advertisements are created and circulated.

The first section of the thesis demonstrates the close relationship of media and Antarctic exploration during the early twentieth century; explorers had lucrative deals with newspapers, and stories were a valuable asset. By the 1930s, Byrd's mastery of the 'hero business' and his savvy dealings with sponsors and media outlets had come to epitomise the commercial nature of early explorers' relationships with the world of business. Explorers' stories also played an

¹¹⁰⁷ Nielsen, "Selling the South," 193.

important role in shaping opinions of those back home; Antarctica entered into the cultural imagination via both verbal and visual representations in newspapers and magazines. As explorers discovered Antarctica step by step, media consumers also made discoveries, page by page. Understanding the emergence of the modern media landscape therefore helps us to understand the ways we view Antarctica, by providing the commercial background to early narratives of south polar exploration.

Building on this understanding of how closely commerce, exploration, place, and narrative are entwined, the second section of this thesis presents four dominant ways of framing Antarctica – namely heroism, extremity, purity, and fragility – and analyses how these framings have been put to work in an advertising context. Ever since the Heroic Era of Antarctic exploration, the continent has been depicted as a place for masculine figures to battle against the elements. While the sepia days when Antarctica was “a testing ground for men with frozen beards to see how dead they could get”¹¹⁰⁸ may be long gone, the spectre of the hero continues to loom large over the Antarctic ice, as the trope is recycled in new guises. Heroism is closely linked to the idea of extremity, which casts the southern continent as a place for superlatives and superior performance. This framing is often called upon when marketing machinery; it feeds into the myth of Antarctic exceptionalism by arguing that any products that have been used in the far south must be exceptionally tough. The purity framing works against notions of heroism and extremity, presenting Antarctica as a place that should remain untouched by humans and machines. Paradoxically, the products marketed using this frame have often been sourced from the far south; the tension between the notion of purity and the practices involved in sourcing ‘pure’ Antarctic products creates ground for fertile analysis. Finally, the fragility frame demonstrates how the continent has been used as a symbol for environmental vulnerability, especially to climate change. This framing has not been as dominant in advertising campaigns, which tend to focus on positive associations. Yet a close examination of advertisements demonstrates that in the age of the Anthropocene ice is not just ice, but rather a symbol for Antarctica, and for the global

¹¹⁰⁸ Wheeler, *Terra Incognita*, 1.

environment at large.

In recent years Antarctica has been valued both physically, as a commodity for tourists to visit and photograph, and symbolically, as a metaphor for a range of challenges experienced back home. The final section of this thesis returns to Antarctica, using the twin lenses of travel and transformation to explore the ways the themes from previous chapters have been manifested in encounters with the far south. It brings notions of challenge, transformation, and life-changing experiences to the fore, and demonstrates how the continent has become relevant to those in faraway places, thanks to the way personal challenges have been addressed via the question “What’s your Antarctic?” It also examines tourism, and argues that the Antarctica that is experienced by tourists is by no means unmediated, nor is it ‘natural’. Instead, as Kevin Markwell puts it, “nature within tourism is predominantly experienced through contrived or mediated encounters.”¹¹⁰⁹ Tour companies are active agents that work hard to create an Antarctic experience that includes all the expected highlights, such as whales, seals, icebergs, a continental landing, and – invariably – penguins. Tourists travel south with a shopping list of expectations, informed by the images that feature in the glossy advertising brochures for the continent, and “become players in the game of directed viewing,”¹¹¹⁰ with guides and tour brochures alike suggesting particular framings for each site encountered. Historic links to heroic figures, allusion to the untouched nature of the continent, and the chance to step onto the 7th continent are all par for the course. When it comes to advertisements for Antarctic tourism (and, to a certain degree, for Antarctic jobs), what is being sold is the *promise* of Antarctica, a mythical combination of images and language that construct an anticipatory story of a faraway place.

Taken together, the texts examined in this study help to reveal the most prominent positive framings of Antarctica. These frames are not exclusive, nor are they bound to specific periods in time. Although a frame such as heroism

¹¹⁰⁹ Markwell, “An Intimate Rendezvous With Nature,” 41.

¹¹¹⁰ Scarles, “Becoming Tourist,” 478.

dates back to the turn of last century, its prominence has waxed and waned over the intervening years, and in response to events such as the Heroic Era centenary celebrations. Other ways of seeing the continent have been layered over the top, leading to a richer thematic vocabulary of the far south. Multiple frames are often in operation simultaneously; they can reinforce one another, as is the case with heroism and extremity, but they can also directly contradict each other. The purity frame, for instance, sits in opposition to the idea of Antarctica as a place to conquer. Being aware of these framings allows one to be alert to what discourses are drawn upon in particular texts. Using advertisements and related commercial products as a proxy, the thesis has tracked how values and attitudes towards the far south have changed over time. However, the findings are applicable more broadly, as the dominant framings of Antarctica identified here can be used as a lens to critically analyse any new text related to Antarctica.

Future Directions: Language, Geography and Place

Although its conclusions rest upon a large collection of primary sources (the advertisements listed in the Appendix and the related cultural products discussed throughout the thesis), this analysis does not claim to be exhaustive or to present all the possible frames through which Antarctica has been viewed. Due to the nature of the material considered, the framings that have emerged in this project are positively skewed; advertisements are designed to sell things, and therefore negative narratives of Antarctica are not prominent. As a result, this project does not address the gothic tradition that has long been associated with Antarctica, or depictions of the place that show a dystopian or apocalyptic future. The trope of the alien that is present in other types of cultural texts (John Carpenter's 1982 film *The Thing* is a prime example) is also absent. Antarctica can function as a place upon which humans project their fears, or as the epitome of the sublime, but such framings do not emerge in advertising, being better suited to different kinds of texts.¹¹¹¹ One potential way of extending the findings of this thesis would be to examine the extent of their applicability to other media

¹¹¹¹ For an analysis of the themes present in Antarctic thrillers, see Leane, "Unstable Places."

and genres. As the following paragraphs explain, future projects could build upon the findings of this thesis by expanding the scope of the texts studied to address film and radio; to cover texts outside of the English-speaking world; or to examine advertisements that depict in the Arctic region.

Another future direction would be to encompass sources available in a wide variety of languages. The material examined was necessarily confined to English-language examples, due to both space limitations and the author's abilities, but this inevitably biases the result towards a Western view. A study of similar texts that have appeared in other languages, such as Chinese or Spanish, would present a useful comparison. To point to just one of many factors: different cultures have different language for – and conceptions of – topics such as 'wilderness.' As Tin and Hemmings put it, wilderness has been variously understood by nations as "a rare commodity that is protected domestically under their national legislation," or "an unused area of little value that should be conquered and utilized."¹¹¹² Nations also have distinct ways of interacting with the continent; the Latin American countries Chile and Argentina, for instance, view the Antarctic Peninsula region of the continent as an extension of their domestic space.¹¹¹³ Further studies that examine Antarctic advertisements and commercial materials produced in places other than the Western world would add nuance, and allow for analysis of the similarities and differences in how Antarctica has been framed in different places at various points in time.

Another obvious point of comparison is the Arctic (and 'cryoscapes' more generally). A transpolar analysis would be valuable for identifying parallel representations, particularly around the fragility theme. Despite aesthetic similarities, the Arctic and Antarctic are culturally very different places. Most obviously, the Arctic has a long human history, and is home to many different indigenous groups. The 2016 furore over Alaska Airlines' use of the phrase "Meet Our Eskimo" in advertising material illustrates the additional dimensions at play when it comes to advertisements of the far north. Indigenous groups objected to

¹¹¹² Tin and Hemmings, "Challenges in Protecting the Wilderness of Antarctica."

¹¹¹³ Slices of Antarctica appear on all official maps of both countries.

the use of the possessive “our,” as it “implied that the airline owned an eskimo,”¹¹¹⁴ and others highlighted the use of the term “eskimo” as a racial slur.¹¹¹⁵ While a future project that tracked the emergence of Arctic framings in advertising would provide a fascinating counterpoint to this current thesis, the north and south polar regions differ historically, socially, and culturally, and therefore also deserve to be investigated independently.

An area of growing interest to which the research presented here might contribute is the analysis of relationship between Antarctica and ‘place.’ Whether the continent is conceived of as a single place or a series of discrete places impacts upon framings and understandings of the continent. When writing on Antarctic thrillers, Leane observes that “the place identity these texts draw from and contribute to is that of the whole Antarctic region,”¹¹¹⁶ and the same is true of advertising texts. As of 2017, the advertisements that have featured Antarctica have used the continent as a single, homogenous place in order to evoke ideas such as heroism, extremity, and purity. Although “a synoptic and general view of Antarctica predominates”¹¹¹⁷ in common discourse about the continent, new ways of thinking about place have also been applied to the far south. The recognition within both the scientific¹¹¹⁸ and political realms¹¹¹⁹ of discrete biogeographic zones in Antarctica signals an important shift in the way the continent is conceptualised.¹¹²⁰ Antonello suggests that “engaging with places rather than the whole might inject a new dynamic into Antarctic Treaty politics and diplomacy”¹¹²¹ – and that such a paradigm shift may also have the potential to “more thoroughly entrench a consciousness of maintaining the Antarctic environment well into the future.”¹¹²² Work such as Antonello’s that is attentive

¹¹¹⁴ Groden, “Alaskan Airlines Apologizes.”

¹¹¹⁵ Hunter, “Alaska Airlines’ Meet our Eskimo Advertising Campaign.”

¹¹¹⁶ Leane, “Unstable Places,” 32.

¹¹¹⁷ Antonello, “Finding Place in Antarctica,” 182.

¹¹¹⁸ Terauds and Lee, “Antarctic Biogeography Revisited.”

¹¹¹⁹ Resolution 6 (2012) ATCM XXXV – CEP XV, Hobart. “Antarctic Conservation Biogeographic Regions.”

¹¹²⁰ These regions, along with Antarctic Specially Protected and Specially Managed Areas and a range of other contextual layers, are available via the interactive map on the Antarctic Environments Portal. Antarctic Environments Portal. “Map.”

¹¹²¹ Antonello, “Finding Place in Antarctica,” 199.

¹¹²² *Ibid.*, 199.

to the theorisation of place in relation to Antarctica (and vice versa) could shift the way this project is viewed in future; whether the public at large will ever think of Antarctica as a range of specific locations rather than a single icy continent at the bottom of the world remains to be seen.

Naming and Framing: An Iceberg called #ExxonKnew

In mid 2017, a specific Antarctic place was thrust into the spotlight as a 5,800km² iceberg calved away from the Larsen C Ice Shelf. Described by *Rolling Stone* magazine as a “made-for-media crack-up, one that has played out in a visible, dramatic way,” the crack that preceded the calving event was “easy to photograph, easy to understand, easy to worry about.”¹¹²³ The resultant iceberg was assigned a standard identifier, and officially termed A68,¹¹²⁴ yet that is not the way it was referred to by all. How a particular mountain, bay or iceberg is known is part of a complex process of meaning-making (as is the question of whether or not it is named at all), and activists were well aware of the powerful framing work a name can perform. In the lead-up to the calving, the climate-focussed NGO *350.org* ran a petition urging the United States National Ice Center to name the Larsen C iceberg after energy company Exxon,¹¹²⁵ and “put the #ExxonKnew Iceberg on the map.”¹¹²⁶ They argued that climate change is linked to the burning of fossil fuels, and therefore Exxon, as a fuel company, should take responsibility for the melting Antarctic ice, and the freshly calved iceberg.¹¹²⁷ A familiar commercial was central to the argument; in promoting the campaign,

¹¹²³ Goodell, “The Larsen C Crack-Up.” One fear is related to sea level rise, but as ice shelves are already floating, their melt does not directly contribute to rising oceans.

¹¹²⁴ So-called because it originated in the “A” Sector (between 0-90W), and was the 68th iceberg to be named.

¹¹²⁵ Packard, “One Of The World’s Largest Icebergs.” An early version of Packard’s piece mentioned the UK Antarctic Place Names Committee, but this was later changed to the US National Ice Centre “as they are responsible for naming icebergs.”

¹¹²⁶ Packard, “Exxon’s Denial Created this Iceberg.”

¹¹²⁷ Whether this particular berg calved as a direct result of anthropogenic climate change remains unclear. Goodell, “The Larsen C Crack-Up.”

Aaron Packard called upon the 1962 Humble advertisement (Figure 7.2) to further his case that “Exxon knew about climate change half a century ago.”¹¹²⁸

This example stands in contrast to the geographical feature Mobiloil Bay, with which this thesis began. Where that bay was named in celebration of the sponsors of Wilkins’ 1928 expedition, here, third party NGOs have attributed a naming interest to Exxon in an attempt to publicly shame the company. *350.org* draws a direct link between the burning of fossil fuels in faraway places, growing levels of CO₂ in the atmosphere, and the melting of Antarctic ice, and inscribes this upon a temporary Antarctic entity. The ephemeral quality of the ice speaks to the fragility frame, while the proposed name neatly encapsulates environmental concerns. That the iceberg became a flashpoint for debate around climate change culpability indicates that Antarctica is very much connected to the wider world of both politics and commerce. It invokes the anti-exceptionalist argument by positioning Antarctica as part of a global system; actions in other parts of the world affect physical processes in the far south, just as the spectre of the continent lingers far from the ice, in imaginations across the globe.

As the calving of A68 and the media attention it garnered make clear, Antarctica is not static; rather, it is being constantly reimagined and reframed. This makes Antarctic humanities scholarship all the more important. As Roberts, Howkins and van der Watt argue, the field articulates an “understanding that the Antarctic is a series of representations that are always selected, distilled, and packaged by humans.”¹¹²⁹ This thesis contributes to the wider cultural understanding of Antarctica by analysing a selection of commercial texts, and revealing how the far south has long been embroiled in the world of economics. Those connections are both influenced by and have an impact upon common framings of the continent. Given that “perceptions of novel environments are always framed by personal experience, in terms of culture and politics, in addition to specialized scientific knowledge,”¹¹³⁰ acknowledging the contextual experiences,

¹¹²⁸ “#ExxonKnew.” In support of this claim, the website references a 1968 report, prepared by the Stanford Research Institute for the American Petroleum Institute.

¹¹²⁹ Roberts, Howkins and van der Watt, “Antarctica: A Continent for the Humanities,” 14.

¹¹³⁰ Roberts, “The White (Supremacist) Continent,” 108.

assumptions and everyday cultural input of the viewer is particularly important when dealing with a part of the world where very few people will ever go. Antarctica holds many resonances, and can be framed in multiple ways for a variety of ends. It is a powerful cultural symbol that can – and has – been put to use for a wide range of commercial purposes over the course of its human history. Just what the cultural landscape of Antarctica will look like in ten, fifty, or one hundred years remains to be seen, but commercial links – and the spectres of past framings – will not be far away.

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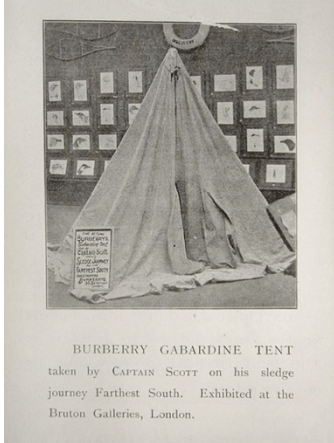

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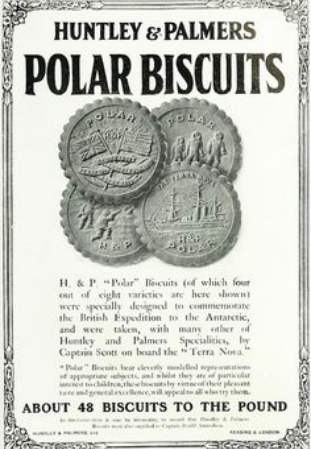


Appendix of Advertisements

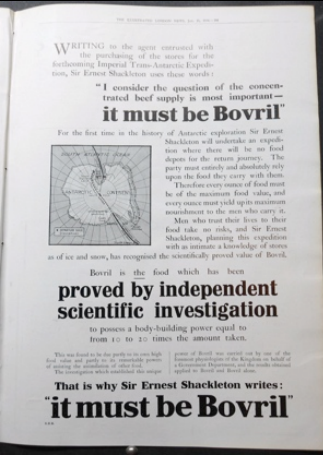
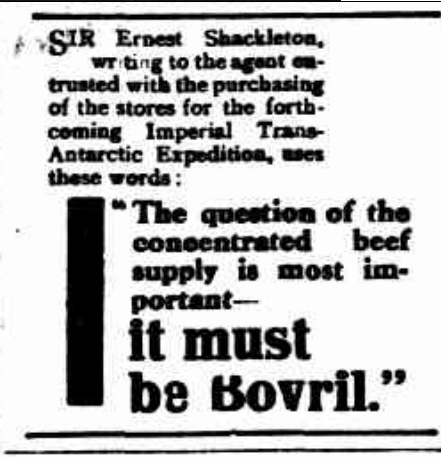

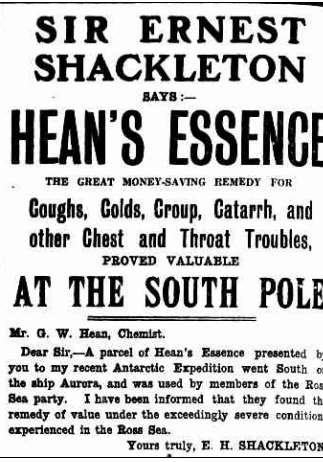
The following Appendix, prepared by Hanne Elliot Fønss Nielsen, includes all Antarctic advertisements collected over the course of this PhD project (2014-2017). The first column includes an identifying code; the second features a thumbnail image of the advertisement; the third includes all relevant information about the advertisement; and the final column is the brand name. Where I have been unable to obtain information, this is indicated by a dash (-). A small number of Arctic examples that are similar to Antarctic advertisements are included – these are marked with (*). Advertisements with no certain date of publication are included at the end of the Appendix.


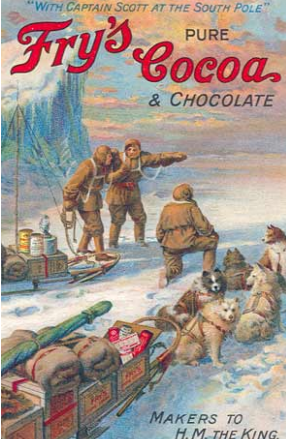

A1895a		<p>Product: Corset Brand: Rosenwald Agency: - Medium: Print Date: 1895? Where published: Trade publication More information: Antarctic whalebone shown as superior. Antarctic imagery. Includes a polar bear – possible ‘Antarctic’ used to encompass both polar regions. Early reference to a commodity coming out of Antarctica. Source: Advertising Archives. “Whalebone Corsets Antarctic.” Accessed 29 August 2017. www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/detail/24475/1/Magazine-Advert/Whalebone-Corsets-Antarctic/1890s. Figure 1.3</p>	Rosenwald
A1909a		<p>Product: Stock Brand: Bovril Agency: - Medium: Print advert Date: 1909 Country: GBR More information: One of several Bovril advertisements to feature Shackleton. Association with a national hero acted like a modern day celebrity endorsement. Text reads “Now that times are difficult you can be sure of being nourished if you take Bovril” Referenced in Introduction.</p>	Bovril
A1909b		<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Ballantynes Agency: - Medium: Print Date: 1909 Country: NZL More information: Published in “The Lyttelton Times” Saturday March 27, 1909, p.4. Accessed via Christchurch City Libraries. Figure 2.5</p>	Ballantynes


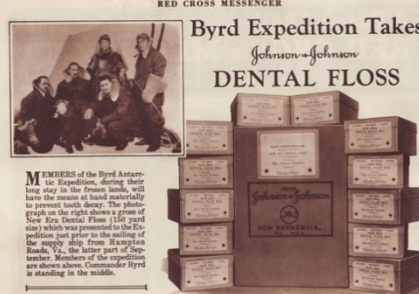


A1911b*	 <p>AMUNDSEN will carry Corona to the North Pole</p> <p>GET out your geography and look for the Arctic Ocean, north of Norway. From the shore of one of these islands Captain Amundsen will "fly off" in his Tripe-Polar airplane. The success of such a daring feat depends on two things—the strength and endurance of the men—and the reliability of their equipment. Corona was chosen as the official typewriter of the expedition because of its proved durability.</p> <p>You, too, should own a Corona</p> <p>Are you going to college? Then take along a typewriter you can depend upon. How you succeed in business? Then, too, your equipment is half the battle. If you haven't investigated Corona, don't say "I'll wait another day." It is the typewriter used by successful people the world over. Mail the coupon now and let us tell you where you can see Corona and how easily you can buy one.</p> <p>CORONA The Personal Writing Machine</p> <p>CORONA TYPEWRITER CO., INC. 113 Main Street, Garden, N. Y.</p> <p>Write on obligation please send me complete Corona literature and address of nearest dealer.</p> <p>Name..... Address.....</p>	<p>Product: Typewriter Brand: Corona Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: 1911/12? Country: – More information: Advertisement from when Amundsen still planned to go North? Explorer acts as product ambassador</p>	Corona
A1911c	 <p>THE ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION You don't see the power of the motor spirit until you see it in the snow of the South Pole.</p> <p>CAPTAIN R. F. SCOTT, R.N., CHOSE</p> <p>"SHELL" MOTOR SPIRIT.</p> <p>Why? Because he took it to the snows of Norway and actually used it on his snow sledge before he would ever leave it on the ice of the Antarctic Region. You see, therefore, however cold, "SHELL" is reliable.</p> <p>Its perfect purity—that's the point!!</p>	<p>Product: Motor Spirit Brand: Shell Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: 1911? Country: GBR More information: Quotes from text include: "Why? Because he took it to the snows of Norway" "You see, therefore, however cold, 'SHELL' is always reliable." "It's perfect purity – that's the point!"</p>	Shell
A1911d	 <p>BURBERRY GABARDINE TENT taken by CAPTAIN SCOTT on his sledge journey Farthest South. Exhibited at the Bruton Galleries, London.</p>	<p>Product: Cloth Brand: Burberry Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1911? Country: GBR? More information: Advertisement relates to Burberry Gabardine fabric, out of which Scott's tent was made. Other Antarctic explorers also used this fabric on their expeditions, for tents and clothing</p>	Burberry
A1911e	 <p>CASCADE ALES & BEER Best South</p>	<p>Product: Beer Brand: Cascade Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1911 Country: AUS More information: Promotional photo taken by Mawson's 1911 expedition on Macquarie Island – references a beer brand from Tasmania</p>	Cascade

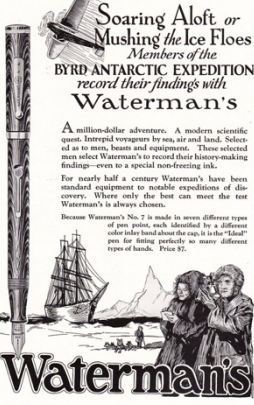

A1911f		<p>Product: Motor spirit Brand: Shell Agency: – Medium: Postcard Date: 1911 Country: GBR? More information: Pioneering at forefront of modern technology – featured on a collecting Card</p>	Shell
A1912a		<p>Product: Paint Brand: Winsor & Newton Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1912? Country: GBR More information: From Cheltenham Reference Library collection</p>	Winsor & Newton
A1912b		<p>Product: Piano Brand: Broadwood Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1912? Country: GBR More information: From Cheltenham Reference Library collection</p>	
A1912c		<p>Product: Food Brand: Huntley & Palmers Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1912? Country: GBR More Information: From Cheltenham Reference Library collection</p>	Huntley & Palmers





A1912h		<p>Product: Gramophone Brand: His Master's Voice Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1912 Country: GBR More information: Published in <i>The Strand Magazine</i>. Referenced in Chapter 1. Figure 2.3</p>	His Master's Voice
A1912i		<p>Product: Biscuits Brand: Huntley & Palmers Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1912 Country: GBR More information: Published in <i>Pall Mall Magazine Extra: Pictures of 1912</i>. LXXXIII p 140. Figure 4.4</p>	Huntley & Palmers
A1913a		<p>Product: Sewing machine Brand: Singer Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1913? Country: GBR More information: Published in <i>"The Strand Magazine"</i> alongside Captain Scott's diaries. Figure 2.2</p>	Singer
A1913b		<p>Product: Wristwatch Brand: S. Smith & Son's Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: 1913 Country: GBR More information: Published in <i>the Strand Magazine</i>, August 1913. Selling a replica of Scott's watch: 'The watch that has been the furthest South and subjected to greater climatic changes than any other watch ever constructed'</p>	Smiths


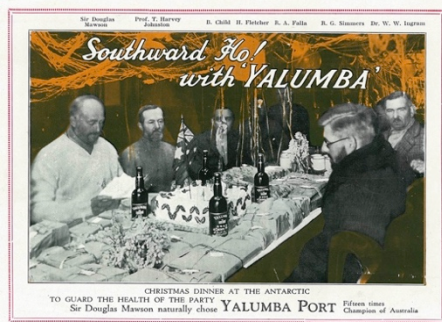

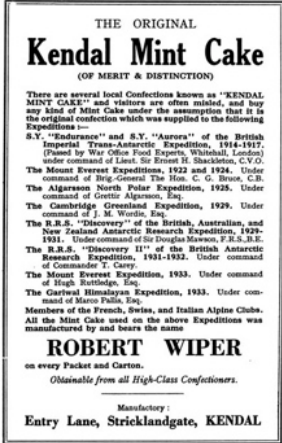
A1914z	 <p>WRITING to the agent entrusted with the purchasing of the stores for the forthcoming Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Sir Ernest Shackleton uses these words:</p> <p>"I consider the question of the concentrated beef supply is most important—it must be Bovril"</p> <p>For the first time in the history of Antarctic exploration Sir Ernest Shackleton will undertake an expedition where there will be no food depots for the return journey. The party must eat and absolutely rely upon the food they carry with them.</p> <p>Therefore every ounce of food must be of the maximum food value, and every ounce must yield up its maximum nutriment to the men who carry it.</p> <p>Men who trust their lives to their food take no risks, and Sir Ernest Shackleton, planning this expedition with an intimate knowledge of stores as of ice and snow, has recognized the scientifically proved value of Bovril.</p> <p>Bovril is the food which has been proved by independent scientific investigation to possess a body-building power equal to from 10 to 12 times the amount taken.</p> <p>That is why Sir Ernest Shackleton writes: "it must be Bovril"</p>		<p>Product: Food Brand: Bovril Agency: – Medium: Print Date:? Country: GBR More information: Published in <i>The Illustrated London News</i>, January 31 1914, p191. Figure 4.2</p>	Bovril
A1915a	 <p>SIR Ernest Shackleton, writing to the agent entrusted with the purchasing of the stores for the forthcoming Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, uses these words:</p> <p>"The question of the concentrated beef supply is most important—it must be Bovril."</p>		<p>Product: Food Brand: Bovril Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1915 Country: AUS More information: Published in <i>"The Advertiser"</i> (Adelaide) 13 February 1915</p>	Bovril
A1916a			<p>Product: Cigarettes Brand: Player's Cigarettes Agency: Artist was Commander 'Teddy' Evans Medium: Cigarette Cards Date: 1916 Country: GBR More information: Cigarette packs in UK. Images document what life was like in Antarctica from first hand view of Teddy Evans. Story telling device a marketing ploy: people want to find out more stories, buy this brand of cigarette</p>	Player's
A1917a	 <p>SIR ERNEST SHACKLETON SAYS:— HEAN'S ESSENCE THE GREAT MONEY-SAVING REMEDY FOR Coughs, Colds, Croup, Catarrh, and other Chest and Throat Troubles, PROVED VALUABLE AT THE SOUTH POLE</p> <p>Mr. G. W. Hean, Chemist.</p> <p>Dear Sir,—A parcel of Hean's Essence presented by you to my recent Antarctic Expedition went South on the ship Aurora, and was used by members of the Ross Sea party. I have been informed that they found the remedy of value under the exceedingly severe conditions experienced in the Ross Sea.</p> <p>Yours truly, E. H. SHACKLETON.</p>		<p>Product: Medicine Brand: Hean's Essence Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1917 Country: AUS More information: Published in the <i>"Sydney Morning Herald"</i> 9 April 1917</p>	Hean's Essence

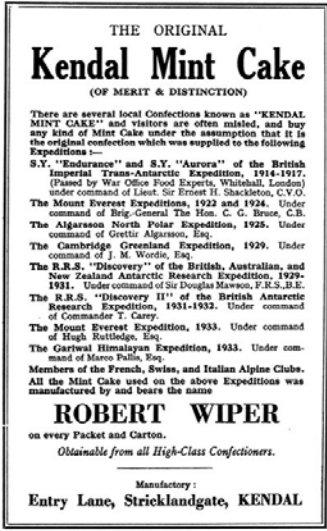



A1925a		<p>Product: Cocoa & Chocolate (Collector Card Series) Brand: Fry's Cocoa & Chocolate Agency: – Medium: Collector Cards Date: 1925 Country: GBR More information: Commander 'Teddy' Evans is quoted on the cards. Published in Bristol, UK. From the series 'With Captain Scott at the South Pole'</p>	Frys
A1925b		<p>Product: Cocoa & Chocolate (Collector Card Series) Brand: Fry's Cocoa & Chocolate Agency: – Medium: Collector Cards Date: 1925 Country: GBR More information: Published in Bristol, UK. From the series 'With Captain Scott at the South Pole'</p>	Frys
A1926a		<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Burberry Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1926 Country: GBR More information: –</p>	Burberry

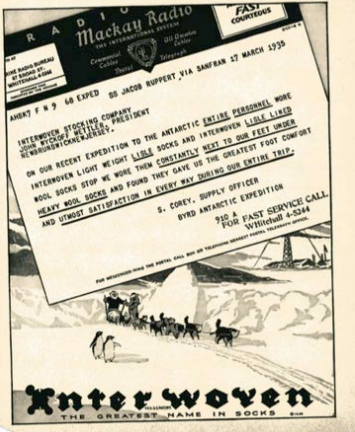



A1926b*		<p>Product: Typewriter Brand: Remington Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1926? Country: GER More information: Links to Amundsen's North Pole flight</p>	Remington
A1928a		<p>Product: Dental Floss Brand: Johnson and Johnson Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: –</p>	Johnson and Johnson
A1928b		<p>Product: Building material Brand: Insulite Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1928 Country: USA More information: –</p>	Insulite
A1929a		<p>Product: Time Delay Technology Brand: Leach Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1929? Country: USA? More information: –</p>	Leach


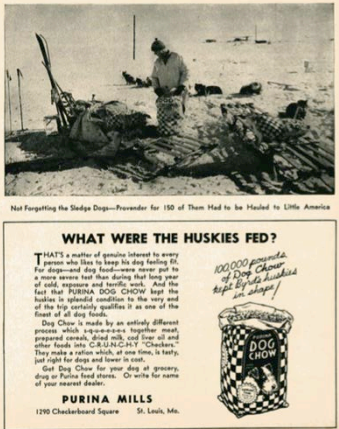

A1929b	<p>EVEN IN THE ANTARCTIC <i>The Byrd Expedition Uses American Gasoline Appliances for Cooking, Heating, Lighting</i></p> <p>Down in the frozen Antarctic, thousands of miles from home and civilization, equipment upon which depend the health and comfort and even the very lives of men, must not fail.</p> <p>Wherever men must have dependable cooking, heating and lighting equipment, the choice is American Appliances. With Roosevelt in Thibet, with the Harvard Scientific Expedition to Asia Minor, with the Stefansson Arctic Expedition, with Theodore Roosevelt to the Amazon River country, with Dr. Barrett of the Milwaukee Public Museum in Africa, they have served with the same reliability and convenience that they do in so many American homes.</p> <p>And so the Byrd Expedition, carefully planned and equipped chose American gasoline gas appliances. Kitchenhooks, Kamptools, Radiant</p> <p>American Gas Machine Co., Inc. NEW YORK, N. Y. ALBERT LEA, MINN. OAKLAND, CAL.</p> <p>Heaters and Ready-Lite Lanterns. For American Appliances, making their own gas, provide complete gas cooking, heating, lighting service wherever gasoline can be secured.</p> <p>You, too, no matter where you live, may enjoy the benefits of these modern home conveniences. Your request for the booklet, "Gas Service for Every Home," will bring you full information and name of your nearest dealer—just mail the coupon.</p> <p>AMERICAN GAS MACHINE COMPANY, Inc. Dept. 38—Answer Line, Minn. Send me your book "Gas Service for Every Home," which would detail value and nature of modern fuel.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> American Ready-Lite Lanterns <input type="checkbox"/> American Kamptools <input type="checkbox"/> American Kitchenhooks</p> <p>Name _____ Address _____</p>	<p>Product: Stove Brand: American Gas Machine Co. Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1929 Country: USA? More information: –</p>	American Gas Machine Co.
A1929c	<p>Soaring Aloft, or Mushing the Ice Floes <i>Members of the BYRD ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION record their findings with Waterman's</i></p> <p>A million-dollar adventure. A modern scientific quest. Intrepid voyagers by sea, air and land. Selected as to men, means and equipment. "Those selected men select Waterman's to record their history-making findings—even to a special non-freezing ink."</p> <p>For nearly half a century Waterman's have been standard equipment to notable expeditions of discovery. Where only the best can meet the test Waterman's is always chosen.</p> <p>Because Waterman's No. 7 is made in seven different types of pen points, each identified by a different color ink label about the cap, it is the "Ideal" pen for fitting perfectly so many different types of hands. Price \$2.</p>  <p>Waterman's</p>	<p>Product: Pen Brand: Waterman's Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1929 Country: USA More information: –</p>	Waterman's
A1929d	<p>by 1929 Byrd gas machine advert - Previous Next - View all</p> <p>February, 1930 POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY 119</p> <p>Marvels of Plane Design <i>(Continued from page 112)</i></p> <p>each. A machine that looks as if it were to fly in the air. Bumps in the air become flattened with their wings. A ship with a top speed of fifty miles an hour would shake its passengers back and forth as a ship would. The machine would be so small that it would be almost invisible to the eye. It would be so small that it would be almost invisible to the eye. It would be so small that it would be almost invisible to the eye.</p> <p>Another column in the POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY features a detailed advertisement for DURHAM Resistors & Powerohms, highlighting their use in the Byrd Antarctic Expedition. The ad states: "On the Byrd Antarctic Expedition DURHAMS are the ONLY Resistors used!" and lists various types of resistors and powerohms available.</p>	<p>Product: Resistors Brand: Durham Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1929 Country: USA More information: –</p>	Durham
A1930a	 <p>Rear Admiral Richard E. BYRD Who will personally appear and tell THE STORY OF LITTLE AMERICA</p>	<p>Product: Film Brand: Thrilling Motion Pictures? Agency: – Medium: Poster Date: 1930s? Country: USA More information: Poster promoting a film starring Admiral Byrd</p>	Thrilling Motion Pictures?


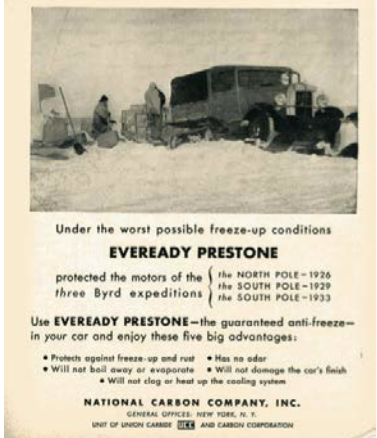


A1930b	 <p>KITCHEN KOOK CLEANLINESS - SPEED - ECONOMY</p> <p>EVEN IN THE ANTARCTIC The Byrd Expedition Uses American Gasoline Appliances for Cooking, Heating, Lighting</p>	<p>Product: Gas Appliances Brand: American Gasoline Appliances Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1930s? Country: USA More information: Published in “The Saturday Evening Post”</p>	American Gasoline Appliances
A1930c	 <p>“Double Proof” Test in “BLUE ICE” for SMITHS de Luxe</p> <p>The endurance of the gallant members of the Australian Antarctic Expedition, as seen in the U.S. “Blue Ice” is matched by the watches they carry. And the watches are Smiths de Luxe, which have established such a remarkable reputation for accuracy and dependability... the watches that constantly win through rigorous conditions which every where confirm the factory’s A-1 certificate. All have the Smiths PERPETUAL waterproofing and are unconditionally guaranteed for one year. Sold by Jewelers everywhere in a wide selection of beautiful models for men and women. Models from £5.19.6 to £21.0.0. Write for free illustrated brochure.</p> <p>SMITHS A “TRUSTED BY ENGLAND” PRODUCT</p> <p><small>PRINTED: SMITHS WATCHES, WATERLOO ROAD, LONDON, N.W.12. The High Grade Watch Division of S. Smith & Son (England) Ltd.</small></p>	<p>Product: Watch Brand: Smiths Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1930s? Country: GBR More information: –</p>	Smiths
A1930d	 <p>Nine out of every ten of the several thousand official Byrd Expedition still pictures were taken with Graflex</p> <p>Graflex, the official still camera of the Expedition, justified its selection as the most accurate and reliable still camera in the Antarctic.</p> <p>GRAFLEX The CAMERA For Important Pictures</p> <p><small>HOLMER GRAFLEX CO., INC., ROCHESTER, N.Y.</small></p>	<p>Product: Camera Brand: Graflex Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1930s? Country: USA More information: –</p>	Graflex
A1930e	 <p>Announcing BYRD-CLOTH</p> <p>made with “Lustex” yarn</p> <p>Picards on eBay</p> <p>Byrd Cloth</p>	<p>Product: Cloth Brand: Byrd Cloth Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1930s? Country: USA More information: Published in “Esquire” Magazine</p>	Byrd Cloth





A1930f		<p>Product: Film Brand: Paramount Agency: – Medium: Print / Poster Date: 1930 Country: USA More information: Poster advertisement relating to promotional tours</p>	Paramount
A1930g		<p>Product: Port Brand: Yalumba Port Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1930 Country: AUS More information: Port associated with Mid Winter Christmas dinner in Antarctica – photo taken in Antarctica of explorers who were national heroes (Mawson). Figure 4.6</p>	Yalumba
A1930h		<p>Product: Car Brand: Austin Seven Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1930 Country: USA More information: Published in "The Austin Magazine" 1454, September 1930</p>	Austin Seven
A1933a		<p>Product: Mint Cake Brand: Kendal Mint Cake Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1933? Country: GBR? More information: –</p>	Kendal Mint Cake




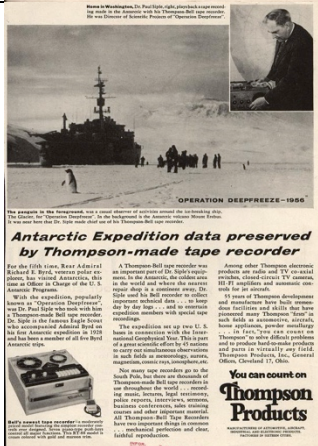
A1933a	 <p>THE ORIGINAL Kendal Mint Cake (OF MERIT & DISTINCTION)</p> <p>There are several local Confectioners known as "KENDAL MINT CAKE" and visitors are often misled, and buy any kind of Mint Cake under the assumption that it is the original confection which was supplied to the following Expeditions —</p> <p>S.Y. "Endurance" and S.Y. "Aurora" of the British Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, 1914-1917. (Passed by War Office Food Experts, Whitehall, London) under command of Lieut. Sir Ernest H. Shackleton, C.V.O.</p> <p>The Mount Everest Expeditions, 1922 and 1924. Under command of Brig-General The Hon. C. G. Bruce, C.B.</p> <p>The Algarsson North Polar Expedition, 1925. Under command of Grettir Algarsson, Esq.</p> <p>The Cambridge Greenland Expedition, 1929. Under command of J. M. Wordie, Esq.</p> <p>The R.R.S. "Discovery" of the British, Australian, and New Zealand Antarctic Research Expedition, 1929-1931. Under command of Sir Douglas Mawson, F.R.S., D.S.C.</p> <p>The R.R.S. "Discovery II" of the British Antarctic Research Expedition, 1931-1933. Under command of Commander T. Carey.</p> <p>The Mount Everest Expedition, 1933. Under command of Hugh Rutledge, Esq.</p> <p>The Garivel Himalayan Expedition, 1933. Under command of Marco Pallis, Esq.</p> <p>Members of the French, Swiss, and Italian Alpine Clubs. All the Mint Cake used on the above Expeditions was manufactured by and bears the name</p> <p>ROBERT WIPER</p> <p>on every Packet and Carton.</p> <p>Obtainable from all High-Class Confectioners.</p> <p>Manufactory: Entry Lane, Stricklandgate, KENDAL</p>	<p>Product: Kendal Mint Cake Brand: Kendal Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: Where published: – How Antarctica is used: Links to several Antarctic and Himalayan expeditions (including Mawson, Shackleton) in order to boost product reputation Themes/ ideas present: Has nourished explorers in all manner of inhospitable places. Brand recognition paramount: do not fall for counterfeits. Extremity.</p>	Kendal
A1933b	 <p>In Little America with Byrd. In Big America with You.</p> <p>It's the OIL in the can that counts</p> <p>VEEDOL MOTOR OIL</p> <p>100% PENNSYLVANIA</p> <p>ON SALE TODAY THE SAME VEEDOL THAT SAFE-VEEDOL THE BYRD EXTENSION</p>	<p>Product: Oil Brand: Veedol Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1933 Country: USA More information: Published in the Saturday Evening Post November 18 1933. Figure 5.3</p>	Veedol
A1934a	 <p>ADMIRAL BYRD'S SOUTH POLE GAME</p> <p>"LITTLE AMERICA"</p> <p>Hello America</p>	<p>Product: Board Game Brand: - Agency: Parker Bros Ltd Medium: Board Game Date: 1934 Where published: (Held at Alexander Turnbull Library) Country: USA More information: Board game based on Admiral Byrd's Antarctic expedition to "Little America" – features radio broadcasting back home to the USA</p>	-
A1935a	 <p>A Study in Antarctic Socks: Appal-a Member of the Expedition Prepares for the Long Trail</p>	<p>Product: Socks Brand: Interwoven Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: Published in "The Romance of Antarctic adventure"</p>	Interwoven





A1935b		<p>Product: Socks Brand: Interwoven Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: Published in “The Romance of Antarctic adventure”</p>	Interwoven
A1935c	<p><i>Important Allies of the Second</i></p>  <p>The Great Seaplane "William Horlick" Used by Admiral Byrd in his Second Expedition to the South Pole which was christened William Horlick in honor of the Originator of Malted Milk.</p> <p>LIKE many other noted explorers and aviators, Admiral Byrd finds in Horlick's Malted Milk the ideal combination of all food elements in the most digestible and concentrated form known. Before embarking on his second expedition, he said:</p> <p>"There is one really strength-giving food for the explorer, in powder or tablet form — Horlick's Original Malted Milk. Such a food I found invaluable on my expeditions to both the North and South Poles and in my flight across the Atlantic."</p> <p>"That is why we have selected HORLICK'S as one of the principal elements of food for our expedition, to keep the members in good health."</p> <p>Perry, Amundsen, Scott, Theodore Roosevelt, and more than a score of other explorers have also carried Horlick's on their expeditions and have depended upon it as a nourishing and strength-giving concentrated food.</p> <p>Horlick's Malted Milk Corp., Racine, Wis.</p>	<p>Product: Foodstuffs Brand: Horlicks Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: Published in “The Romance of Antarctic Adventure”</p>	Horlicks
A1935d	<p><i>Byrd Antarctic Expedition</i></p>  <p>A Byrd Expedition today quaffing enjoyment of Horlick's</p> <p>Radiogram from Advance Base MAY 15, 1934 WILLIAM HORLICK RACINE, WISCONSIN A.M. FRIENDS, YOUR MALTED MILK SACKS: IT IS A GREAT HIT! R. E. BYRD</p> <p>Radiogram from Admiral Byrd at Little America FEBRUARY 23, 1934 WILLIAM HORLICK RACINE, WISCONSIN TO DEAR HORLICK'S MALTED MILK HAS BEEN MOST BENEFICIAL TO MEN AND HAS GIVEN ME OF GREAT USE FOR ME.</p> <p>THE pure, full-cream, cow's milk and sweetening given in Horlick's contain the vital food elements—protein, carbohydrates, iron, fat, essential minerals, and the valuable vitamins.</p> <p>Horlick's Malted Milk is a self-contained product. It is not necessary to add ordinary milk or any flavoring when desired. It requires only to be well mixed with water to make a nourishing, easily digested food-drink for all, from infancy to old age.</p> <p>A cup of Horlick's, hot, before retiring.</p> <p>The Original Malted Milk HORLICK'S In natural and chocolate flavors—in powder and tablet form</p>	<p>Product: Foodstuffs Brand: Horlicks Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: Published in “The Romance of Antarctic Adventure”</p>	Horlicks
A1935e	<p><i>On the Menu at “Little America”</i></p>  <p>President of the United States "Little America" — 10,000 miles from home and civilization!</p> <p>They had delicious, fragrant coffee, too—Maxwell House Coffee. And although they were 10,000 miles from the nearest grocery store, their coffee was always fresh—due to the Maxwell House Via-Fresh Process.</p> <p>But Grape-Nuts and Maxwell House Coffee weren't the only General Foods products that were with Admiral Byrd to “Little America”!</p> <p>In addition to these two popular breakfast items, eleven other favorites of Americans housewives were chosen by Admiral Byrd to participate in his epochal adventure that took him to the very bottom of the world.</p> <p>The supplies of the party also included:</p> <p>Post's 40% Bran Flakes Diamond Crystal Salt Brown Dinner Cake Flakes Low-Carb Butter Crisper Brand Powder</p> <p>Post Toasties Baker's Cocoa Maxwell House Tea Max O J or Citrus Potpourri Biscuits Post-Tens Post-Tens</p>	<p>Product: Foodstuffs Brand: General Foods Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: Published in “The Romance of Antarctic Adventure”</p>	General Foods





A1935j	 <p>A Year's Supply of Cleanliness for the South Pole</p>	<p>Product: Cleaning Products Brand: Lux, Rinso Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: Published in “The Romance of Antarctic Adventure” p 35 Figure 6.2</p>	Lux, Rinso
A1935j	 <p>Not Forgetting the Sledge Dogs—Providence for 150 of Them Had to be Made to Little America</p> <p>WHAT WERE THE HUSKIES FED?</p> <p>THAT'S a matter of genuine interest to every person who likes to keep his dog feeling fit. For sledge-dog food-covers never get to a more severe test than during that long year of cold, exposure and terrific work. And the fact that PURINA DOG CHOW kept the huskies in splendid condition to the very end of the trip certainly qualifies it as one of the finest of all dog foods.</p> <p>Dog Chow is made by an entirely different process which incorporates together most prepared cereals, dried milk, and fine oil and other foods into CRUNCHY “Chunks.” They make a rich, moist, and delicious food, is tasty, just right for dogs and lower in cost.</p> <p>Get Dog Chow for your dog at grocery, drug or Purina feed stores. Or write for name of your nearest dealer.</p> <p>PURINA MILLS 1200 Chestnut Square St. Louis, Mo.</p> <p>100,000 pounds of Dog Chow kept 150 huskies in shape!</p>	<p>Product: Dog Food Brand: Purina Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: Published in “The Romance of Antarctic adventure”</p>	Purina
A1935k	<p>they remembered EX-LAX</p> <p>At the South Pole, as everywhere else in the world, occasionally a good laxative is needed.</p> <p>And there—as in almost every other spot on the globe—Ex-Lax comes to the rescue</p> <p>—because it is such a pleasure to take —since it tastes just like smooth, velvety delicious chocolate; —because it is mild and gentle in action. Yet as safely thorough as any laxative you can take; —because Ex-Lax isn't habit-forming...you don't have to keep on increasing the dose to get results.</p> <p>And finally because it always gives uniform satisfaction...for 28 years</p> <p>it has been America's favorite laxative. 46 million boxes were bought in this country last year alone—not to mention the Ex-Lax used in England, Canada, Mexico, China, India, South Africa, and almost every other spot on the civilized globe.</p> <p>Try Ex-Lax...for yourself and for every member of your family, from the little tot to the grandparents. It's good for them all.</p> <p>So, take a tip from the members of the Byrd Expedition...and from millions of other folks...and make Ex-Lax YOUR laxative.</p> <p>Ex-Lax comes in 10c and 25c boxes at any drug store.</p> <p>When Nature forgets—remember EX-LAX THE CHOCOLATED LAXATIVE</p>	<p>Product: Laxative Brand: Ex-Lax Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: Published in “The Romance of Antarctic adventure”</p>	Ex-Lax
A1935l	 <p>Admiral Byrd's South Pole Dairy Has Come Home</p>	<p>Product: Dairy Feed Brand: Larro Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1935? Where published: USA More information: –</p>	Larro



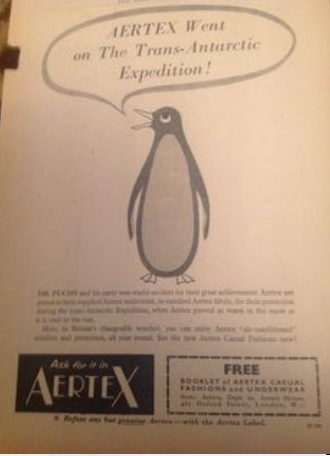
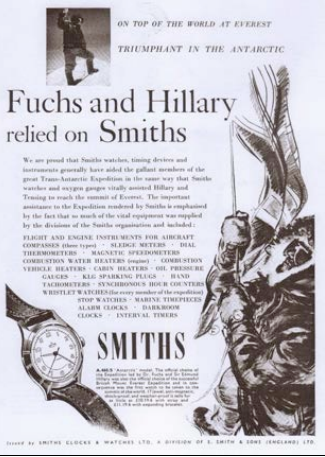
A1935m		Product: Engine Oil Brand: Veedol Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1935? Where published: USA More information: –	Veedol
A1935n		Product: Antifreeze Brand: Eveready Prestone Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: Published in "The Romance of Antarctic adventure"	Eveready Prestone
A1935o		Product: Radio Brand: General Electric Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1935 Country: USA More information: Published in "The Romance of Antarctic adventure"	General Electric
A1936a		Product: Gin Brand: Antarctica? Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1936 Country: – More information: Antarctica used as a brand name	Antarctica





A1937a	 <p>ATLANTIC sails from the ANTARCTIC with a cargo of WHALE OIL</p> <p>FROM WHALES WHALE OIL Landed in South America was at the bottom of the world, even on today's great whaling vessels and those mounted in old days with whale oil cargo of whale. ... Today Atlantic means against loss of the catch of the modern whaler just as it was the original of the old American whaling vessels in the middle years of the last century. For in years Atlantic has been serving American whalers by means of a cargo of whale oil.</p> <p>Atlantic offers reliable protection for hulls and cargoes for ocean voyages ... for goods in transit within the United States ... for goods in transit to ports or under the mercantile flag.</p> <p>ATLANTIC MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY 40 WALL STREET NEW YORK</p>		<p>Product: Insurance Brand: Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1937 Country: USA More information: Links to commercial whaling and previous cargo</p>	Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company
A1937b	 <p>FIRST ... TO THE BOTTOM OF THE WORLD</p> <p>Glidden is the name of the world's most famous polar explorer. He is the only man who has ever reached the South Pole. He is the only man who has ever reached the North Pole. He is the only man who has ever reached the bottom of the world.</p> <p>GLIDDEN Lubricants for the Arctic</p>		<p>Product: Paint Brand: Glidden Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1937 Country: USA More information: –</p>	Glidden
A1947a	 <p>It warmed their hearts in the world's ice-box</p> <p>It warmed their hearts in the world's ice-box. It warmed their hearts in the world's ice-box. It warmed their hearts in the world's ice-box.</p> <p>NATIONAL DAIRY PRODUCTS</p>		<p>Product: Ice cream Brand: National Dairy Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1947 Other information: Published in "Life Magazine" 28 April 1947, p61</p>	National Dairy
A1949a	 <p>Kilfroast</p> <p>KILFROAST PRODUCTS FOR THE NORWEGIAN-BRITISH-SWEDISH ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION 1949-53</p> <p>KILFROAST MARINE PASTE KILFROAST RADIATOR LIQUID KILFROAST ARCTIC RODS KILFROAST TREATED ROPES</p> <p>Kilfroast have also been instrumental in providing equipment arctic expeditions. This image shows the range of deicing products required for an Antarctic expedition.</p>		<p>Product: Antifreeze Brand: Kilfroast Agency: – Medium: Website Date: 1949 Country: – More information: Displayed on Kilfroast website in 2017</p>	Kilfroast





A1950a		<p>Product: Radiator Anti-freeze Brand: Kilfroast Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – More information: Associated with Norwegian/ British/ Swedish Expedition. Advert claims the product 'stood up excellently in the field conditions we encountered'</p>	Kilfroast
A1954a		<p>Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1954 Country: GBR? More information: Published in "Punch" November 17 1954</p>	Rolex
A1955a		<p>Product: Motor Oil Brand: BP Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1955 Country: AUS More information: Published in "Wheels Magazine" March 1956. Features scientists. Figure 5.4</p>	BP
A1956a		<p>Product: Tape recorder Brand: Thompson Products Agency: – Medium: Print advertorial Date: 1956 (appears to be post operation deepfreeze) Where published: USA More information: Telling story of Operation Deepfreeze to engage reader before switching to extolling merits of the Thompson-made tape recorder and other uses of the machine - story value associated with Byrd</p>	Thompson Products



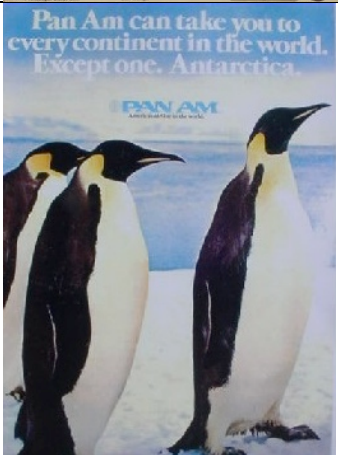

A1956b		<p>Product: Airline Brand: Alitalia Agency: – Medium: Postcard Date:? Country: USA More information: Fortune Magazine, August 1965, p121. Figure 5.18</p>	Alitalia
A1956c		<p>Product: Various Domestic Products Brand: Bond and Bond Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1956 Where published: NZL Further Information: http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/566603</p>	Bond and Bond
A1956e		<p>Product: Electrodes / welding Brand: A O Smith Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1956 Country: USA More information: –</p>	A O Smith
A1956f		<p>Product: Trans-Antarctic Expedition: Fundraising Brand: Ed Hillary Agency: – Medium: Share certificate Date: 1956-8 Country: NZL More information: Shares sold as a way to raise funds for the TAE expedition, using Sir Edmund Hillary's name</p>	TAE Expedition

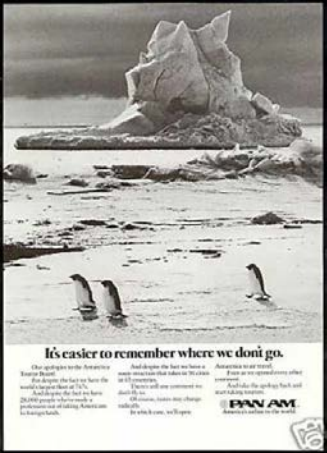
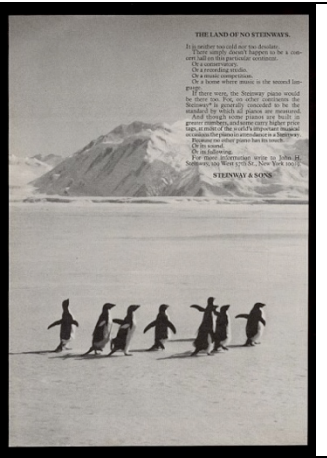

A1956g		<p>Product: Food Brand: Bovril Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1956/7? Country: – More information: Sourced via The History of BOVRIL Advertising, p. 62. Figure 4.3.</p>	Bovril
A1957a		<p>Product: Antifreeze Brand: BP Agency: – Medium: Postcard Date: 1957? Country: BEL More information: –</p>	BP
A1957b		<p>Product: Wristwatch Brand: Smiths Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: 1957? (Pre TAE) Country: GBR More information: Now seems ironic that even with a watch maker as a sponsor, Hillary and Fuchs could still not make it to the Pole simultaneously</p>	Smiths
A1957c		<p>Product: Board game to promote company sponsorship of expedition Brand: Shell Agency: – Medium: Board Game Date: 1957? Country: NZL More information: Board game found by Anne Noble at Canterbury Museum</p>	Shell

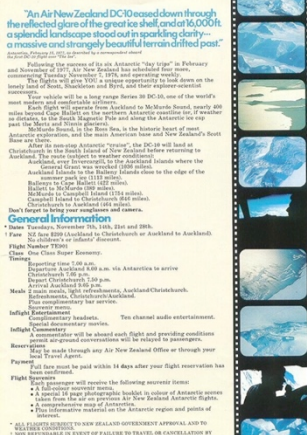


A1957d		<p>Product: Wristwatch Brand: Croton Nivada Grenchen 'The Antarctic' model Agency: - Medium: Print advert Date: 1957? Country: USA More information: -</p>	Croton Nivada Grenchen
A1957e		<p>Product: Wristwatch Brand: Croton Nivada Grenchen: 'The Antarctic' model Agency: - Medium: Print advert Date: 1957 Country: USA More information: 'This is the watch that went to the Antarctic with Byrd in Operation Deep Freeze' - use in an extreme environment. The New York Times June 8 - 1957, p10. Figure 5.8</p>	Croton Nivada Grenchen
A1958a		<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Aertex Agency: - Medium: Print Date: - Country: GBR More information: Link to TAE expedition, mentions Fuchs</p>	Aertex
A1958b		<p>Product: Wristwatch Brand: Smiths Agency: - Medium: Print advert Date: 1958? Country: UK More information: 'Triumphant in the Antarctic' - extreme environment, alongside Everest</p>	Smiths





A1958c		<p>Product: Wristwatch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: 1958 Country: – More information: National Geographic Magazine p19 June 1958 Rolex associates itself with the IGY</p>	Rolex
A1958d		<p>Product: Watch Brand: Nivada Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1958 Country: USA More information: –</p>	Nivada
A1959a		<p>Product: Sunglasses Brand: Ray-Ban Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1959 Country: USA More information: Antarctica used as a testing ground for a new product (tested by US Navy in Antarctica, available in styled versions back home). National Geographic Magazine, 1959. Vintage Sunglasses Shop. “Ray-Ban 12k GF Deep Freeze Double Gradient Mirror Sunglasses.” Accessed 13 July 2017. www.vintagesunglassesshop.com/item_vs351.html Referenced in Introduction. Figure 5.20</p>	Ray-Ban
A1960a		<p>Product: Car Brand: Volkswagen (VW) Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1960/70s Country: USA More information: Photograph re-taken in Alaska to suit US market (left hand drive). Orlove, Raphael. “This Was the First Car in Antarctica.” Jalopnik. Accessed 5 September 2017. www.jalopnik.com/5868236/this-was-the-first-car-in-antarctica Figure 5.7</p>	VW


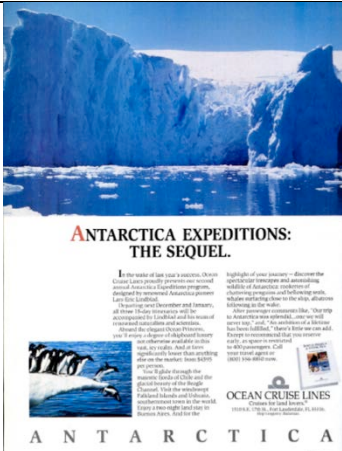


A1960b		<p>Product: Insurance Brand: Metropolitan Life Insurance Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1960 Country: USA More information: Links to exploration, vast whiteness, lack of sound. Arctic/ Antarctic conflated in “polar explorer” Protection (of hearing), silence (as in polar regions).</p>	Metropolitan Life Insurance
A1960c		<p>Product: Socks Brand: Canterbury Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1960 Country: NZL More information: Published in “Ice-Bound: The Story of New Zealand and The US in the Antarctic”</p>	Canterbury
A1960sa		<p>Product: Car (VW beetle) Brand: Volkswagen Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: 1960s? Country: Australia More information: VW is linked to use at Mawson station in Antarctica: difficulties listed out, and how this vehicle overcomes them. E.g. ‘the engine is air-cooled, and therefore there are no radiator freezing problems to overcome’</p>	VW
A1962a		<p>Product: Energy Brand: Humble Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1962 Country: USA More information: Life Magazine 2 February 1962. Figure 7.2</p>	Humble

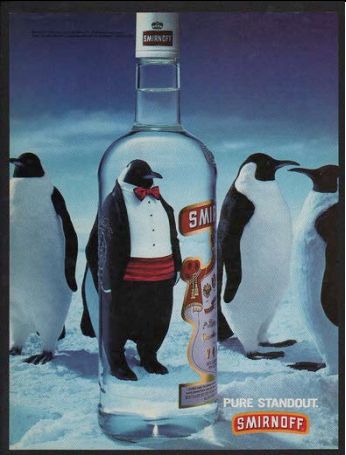

A1963a	 <p>The first car at the bottom of the world.</p>	<p>Product: Car Brand: Volkswagen (VW) Agency: – Medium: Print Advert Date: 1963/4? Country: AUS How Antarctica is used: Themes/ ideas present: Themes: Extremity, 'first,' hardiness, intrepid, sturdy. LIFE, 15 January 1965, 25. Figure 5.5</p>	VW
A1967b	 <p>First car in Antarctica.</p>	<p>Product: Car Brand: Volkswagen (VW) Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1967? Country: AUS More information: Australian Women's Weekly, 10 July 1967, 37. Figure 5.6</p>	VW
A1970b	 <p>Pan Am can take you to every continent in the world. Except one. Antarctica.</p>	<p>Product: Flights Brand: Pan Am Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1970s Country: USA More information: Antarctica is the only continent Pan Am do not fly to: Antarctica as absence</p>	Pan Am
A1975a		<p>Product: Airline Brand: Pan Am Agency: – Medium: Badge Date: 1975 Country: USA More information: Badges worn on flight attendant uniforms</p>	Pan Am





A1976a		<p>Product: Flights Brand: Pan Am Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1970s Country: USA More information: Pan Am landed at McMurdo with female flight attendants Patricia Heppinstall and Ruth Kelly (1957) and flew over both poles to celebrate 50 years (1977)). Vintage Ad Browser. “Pan Am Airlines Antarctica Penguins Photo (1975)” Accessed 5 September 2017. www.vintageadbrowser.com _Figure 5.19</p>	Pan Am
A1976b		<p>Product: Piano Brand: Steinway Agency: – Medium: label? Date: 1976 Country: – More information: Employs notion of absence - ‘the land of no Steinways’, listing what Antarctica does NOT have. Similar to airline adverts who do not fly there</p>	Steinway
A1978a		<p>Product: Travel Brand: Air New Zealand Agency: – Medium: Brochure Date: 1978 Country: NZL More information: –</p>	Air New Zealand




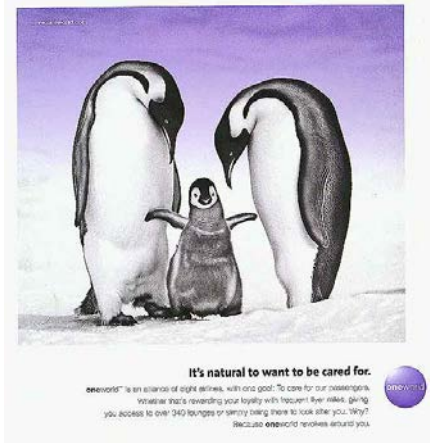
<p>A1978b</p>			<p>Product: Overflight of Antarctica (ex NZ) Brand: Air New Zealand Agency: – Medium: Travel Brochure Date: 1979 Country: New Zealand More information: Travel brochure promoting over flights of Antarctica ex NZ</p>	<p>Air New Zealand</p>
<p>A1979b</p>			<p>Product: Cold medicine Brand: Coldrex Agency: Medium: TV advert Date: 1979 Country: – More information: Advertisement takes form of a film called 'Scott of the Antarctic' – employs heroic imagery bad idea of Scott writing in a tent. No mention of Scott's name, but references to 'Edward' wandering off despite a nasty cold and getting lost: 'coldrex tablets helped keep him going', 'Ginger' getting a cough on a fishing trip and 'Patrick' falling in a puddle ('to relieve his chill he took a coldrex hot lemon flavoured drink'.) 'It's good to know Coldrex helps to relive all kinds of cold symptoms' – Antarctica a cold place, pun on the common cold.</p>	<p>Coldrex</p>
<p>A1985a</p>			<p>Product: Game and Cards Brand: Sanitarium Agency: – Medium: Game and Cards Date: 1985 Country: AUS More information: Entitled "Antarctic Adventure" – published by food manufacturer</p>	<p>Sanitarium</p>
<p>A1986a</p>			<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Burberry Agency: – Medium: Fabric Date: 1986 Country: GBR? Where published: –</p>	<p>Burberry</p>

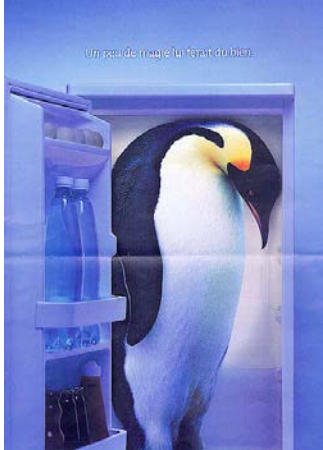
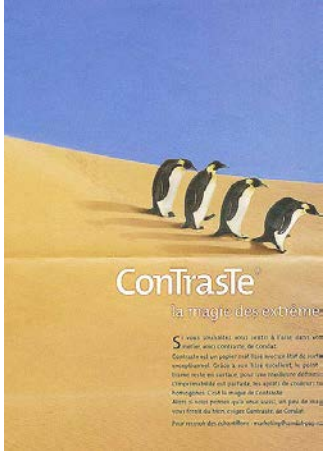


A1987a		<p>Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1987 Country: – More information: Published in “National Geographic” Magazine Sept 1987 Vol 172 No 3. Figure 5.9</p>	Rolex
A1988a		<p>Product: – Brand: The Aerosol Information Services Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1988/9 Country: AUS More information: The Aerosol Information Service. “Happy 50th Anniversary.” Accessed 22 August 2017. www.aerosol.com.au/anniversary-50/ecard-05.html</p>	The Aerosol Information Services
A1988b		<p>Product: – Brand: The Aerosol Information Services Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1988/9 Country: AUS More information: The Aerosol Information Service. “Happy 50th Anniversary.” Accessed 22 August 2017. www.aerosol.com.au/anniversary-50/ecard-05.html Figure 7.8</p>	The Aerosol Information Services
A1990a		<p>Product: Flights Brand: British Airways Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1990s? Country: Britain More information: Antarctica is the only continent British Airways do not fly to. Similar to Pan Am adverts</p>	British Airways

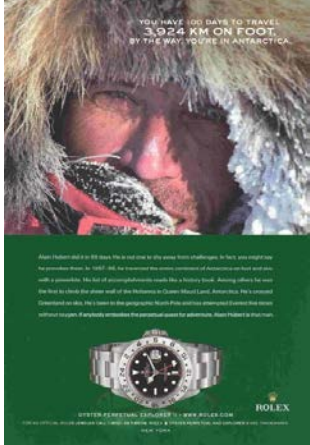
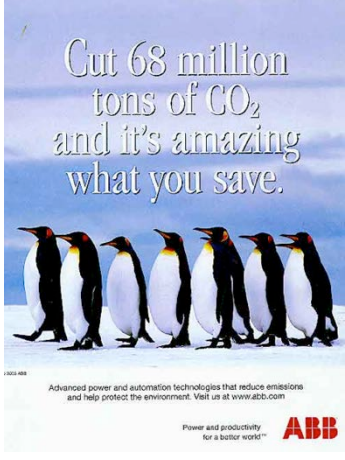


A1990a		<p>Product: Sponsorship advert Brand: Target Agency: – Medium: Date: 1990 Country: AUS? More information: Sponsorship of expedition, 'As used in the Antarctic' sentiment</p>	Target
A1991a		<p>Product: Travel Brand: Ocean Cruise Lines Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1991 Country: – More information: Published in "Cruise Travel" Sep 1991 p76</p>	Ocean Cruise Lines
A1994a		<p>Product: Vehicle Brand: Chrysler Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1994 Country: USA? More information: –</p>	Chrysler
A1994b		<p>Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1994 Country: – More information: Published in "National Geographic" Magazine 1994 Vol 185 No 4</p>	Rolex


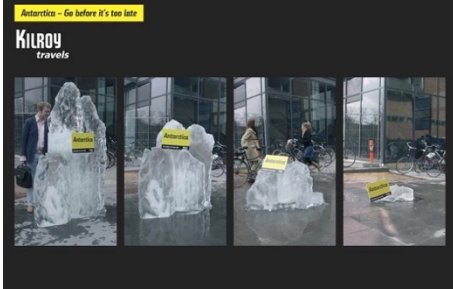


A1994c			<p>Product: Vodka Brand: Smirnoff Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1994 Country: – More information: Reprints for sale online – see https://picclick.com/1994-Cute-Penguins-Tuxedo-Smirnoff-Vodka-Vintage-Print-231222852704.html</p>	Smirnoff
A1997a			<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Earth Sea Sky Agency: – Medium: Poster / Online Date: 1997 Country: NZL More information: Published in the “Antarctic” Magazine Version 15.1 1997</p>	Earth Sea Sky
A1997b			<p>Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1997 Country: – More information: Published in “National Geographic” Magazine June 1997 Vol 191 No 6 – Erling Kagge</p>	Rolex
A1998a			<p>Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: – Date: 1998 Country: – More information: Published in “National Geographic” Magazine March 1998 Vol 193 – Erling Kagge</p>	Rolex





A1999a		<p>Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1999 Country: – More information: Published in “National Geographic” Magazine June 1999 Vol 195 No 6 – Erling Kagge</p>	Rolex
A1999b		<p>Product: Laundry Powder Brand: Drive Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 1999 Country: AUS More information: The Australian Women's Weekly December 1999 p223. Figure 6.5</p>	Drive
A2000a		<p>Product: Krill Oil Brand: Mega Red Agency: – Medium: – Date: 2000s Country: – More Information: –</p>	Mega Red
A2000b		<p>Product: Krill Oil Brand: Everest Agency: – Medium: Online Date: 2000s? Country: – More information:</p>	Everest





A2000c		Product: Beer Brand: Antarctica Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: BRA More information: Brand name for a wide spread beer	Antarctica
A2000d		Product: Industrial Sensors Brand: – Agency: – Medium: – Date: 2000 Country: NLD More Information: Found with penguin adverts here - http://www.elve.net/panim/en/penguin.htm	?
A2000e		Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: – Date: 2000 Country: – More information: Published in "National Geographic" Magazine March 2000 Vol 197 No 3 – Erling Kagge	Rolex
A2002a		Product: Airline Brand: One World Agency: – Medium: – Date: 2002 Country: – More Information: Found with penguin adverts here - http://www.elve.net/panim/en/penguin.htm	One World



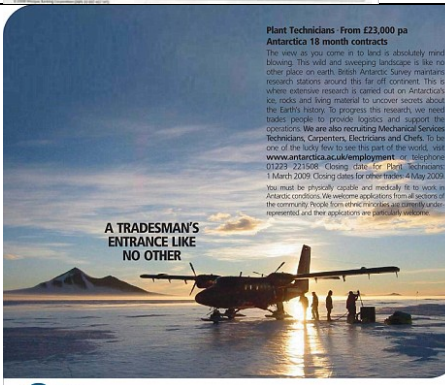

A2002b		Product: – Brand: – Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – More information: Found with penguin adverts here - http://www.elve.net/panim/en/penguin.htm	–
A2002c		Product: Paper Brand: – Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – More Information: Found with penguin adverts here - http://www.elve.net/panim/en/penguin.htm	–
A2002d		Product: Automated Technology Brand: ABB Agency: – Medium: Poster Date: 2002 Country: GBR? More Information:	ABB
A2004a		Product: Shoe Brand: Adidas Agency: 180 Amsterdam Medium: Print, Magazine and Newspaper Date: 2004 Country: NLD More information: Features both the Antarctic Marathon and Adidas shoes. Entitled "Antarctic Marathon." Coloribus. Accessed 28 August 2017. https://www.coloribus.com/adsarchive/prints/supernova-cushion-antarctic-marathon-6121355/ Figure 8.4	Adidas





A2004b		<p>Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2004? Country: USA? More information: Published in “National Geographic”? – Alain Hubert</p>	Rolex
A2005a		<p>Product: Automated Technology Brand: ABB Agency: – Medium: – Country: GBR Date: 2005 More information: ABB Advertisement. “Cut 68 million tons of CO and it’s amazing what you save.” ABB Archives. 2005. Accessed 22 August 2017. https://library.e.abb.com/public/68ce4295bbc3f3e3c12571d900466988/84%20Preview_ENG72dpi.pdf Figure 7.6</p>	ABB
A2005b		<p>Product: Skin cream Brand: Skin Doctors Antarctilyne Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: 2005 Country: AUS More information: Published in Who Magazine. Antarctic science used to promote product: a ‘bacterial strain from an Antarctic glacier’ is used in this anti-aging cream. Links to bioprospecting. Figure 6.9</p>	Antarctilyne
A2005c		<p>Product: Data Storage Brand: StorageTek Agency: – Medium: – Date: 2005 More Information: Found with penguin adverts via http://www.elve.net/panim/en/penguin.htm</p>	StorageTek





A2006a		Product: Travel Brand: Kilroy Agency: Saatchi and Saatchi Medium: Print Date: April 2006 Country: DNK More information: –	Kilroy
A2006b		Product: Travel Brand: Kilroy Agency: Saatchi and Saatchi Medium: Ice installation/ Photography Date: 2006 Country: DNK More information: Last chance 'dark' tourism: 'go before it's too late' to see it before it melts. Called "Antarctica – Go before it's too late." Via Advertising/Design Goodness. Accessed 19 July 2017. www.frederiksamuel.com/blog/images/kilroy.jpg g Figure 8.7	Kilroy
A2006c		Product: Energy Brand: EDF Agency: Publicis Conseil, France Medium: Various Date: 2006 Country: FRA More information: –	EDF
A2006d		Product: Fridge Brand: Siemens Agency: Christian Soldatke, Saskia Lübke Medium: – Date: 2006 Country: – More information: "XXL Fridge" is advertisement title. Ice as a backdrop as symbol of ultimate cold. Arctic/ Antarctic conflated.	Siemens


A2007b		<p>Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2007 Country: USA More information: –</p>	Rolex
A2007c		<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Diesel Agency: Marcel (Paris) Medium: Various Date: 2007 Country: Worldwide More information: Part of a larger campaign featuring famous sites from around the world, digitally altered to represent a warmer world. Diesel Advertisement. "Diesel: Global Warming, North Pole." Ads of the World. Last Updated 22 May 2007. Accessed 5 September 2017. www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/diesel_global_warming_north_pole Figure 7.9</p>	Diesel
A2007d		<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Diesel Agency: – Medium: Trolley Bus Date: 2007 Country: CAN More information: –</p>	Diesel
A2007e		<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Diesel Agency: – Medium: Billboard / Print Date: 2007 Country: – More information: –</p>	Diesel

A2007f		Product: Car Brand: Renault Agency: Publicis, Caracas, Venezuela Medium: Various Date: 2007 Country: VEN More information:	Renault
A2007g		Product: Summer school Brand: Shackleton Agency: – Medium: Poster Date: 2007 Country: IRL More information: Poster for the annual Shackleton summer school	Shackleton
A2007h		Product: Beer Brand: Carling Agency: – Medium: TV advert Date: 2007? (date uploaded to Youtube as 'new') Country: GBR More information: employs idea of camaraderie, using polar tents, polar imagery to hark back to Heroic Era, Extremity	Carling
A2008a		Product: Environmental message Brand: Climate Focus Agency: Serviceplan, Dritte Werbeagentur Medium: – Date: 2008 Country: Germany More information: Found on Advertolog archive. http://www.advertolog.com/climate-focus/print-outdoor/pineapple-11127305/	Climate Focus




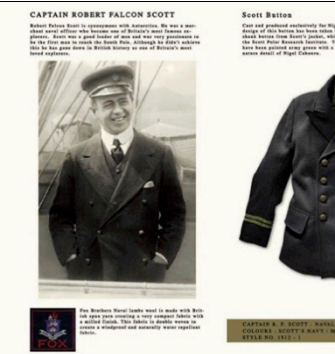
<p>A2008b</p>		<p>Product: Concept Brand: Don't Vote Agency: Borders, Perrin & Norrander, Inc (Campaign = "Things Are Fine – Don't Vote") Medium: Print Date: 2008 (?) Country: USA More information: Part of a series encouraging people to vote – several featured environmental imagery. Source: Thingsarefine.org. "Don't Vote – Spread the Word." http://web.archive.org/web/20090307045053/http://thingsarefine.org/Download.aspx Figure 7.10</p>	<p>Borders, Perrin & Norrander, Inc</p>
<p>A2008c</p>		<p>Product: Bank Brand: Westpac Agency: The Campaign Palace Medium: Print Date: 2008 Country: Australia More information: Westpac Advertisement. "How many Banks Does It Take To Change A Globe?" Australian Organic Market Report 2008. 9. Figure 7.7</p>	<p>Westpac</p>
<p>A2009a</p>		<p>Product: Job Brand: British Antarctic Survey Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2009 Country: GBR More information: –</p>	<p>British Antarctic Survey</p>
<p>A2009b</p>		<p>Product: Fridge Brand: Panasonic Agency: – Medium: Print Date: April 2009 (also appeared on cover of fridge manual) Country: – More information: For more analysis on this image see 'Dialogues with Tomorrow' 2010 http://www.dialogues.org.nz/2010/index.php?/06/judith-williamson Figure 7.4</p>	<p>Panasonic</p>





A2009c		<p>Product: Fridge Brand: Panasonic Agency: – Medium: Catalogue Cover Date: 2009 Country: FRA More information: Similar to A2009b, but in French</p>	Panasonic
A2009d		<p>Product: Fridge Brand: Panasonic Agency: – Medium: Manual Cover Date: 2009 Country: GBR More information: “Panasonic NR-B30FG1-WB Refrigerator User Manual.” <i>Manuals Online</i>. Accessed 1 September 2017. www.kitchen.manualsonline.com/manuals/mfg/panasonic/nrb30fg1wb.html Figure 7.3</p>	Panasonic
A2010a		<p>Product: Job Brand: British Antarctic Survey Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2010 Country: GBR More information: Published on designer’s blog with other advertisement options. See more at: http://basfieldassistants.blogspot.com.au/</p>	British Antarctic Survey
A2010b		<p>Product: Job Brand: British Antarctic Survey Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2010 Country: GBR More information: Published on designer’s blog with other advertisement options. See more at: http://basfieldassistants.blogspot.com.au/</p>	British Antarctic Survey





A2010c		<p>Product: Job Brand: British Antarctic Survey Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2010 Country: GBR More information: Published on designer's blog with other advertisement options. See more at: http://basfieldassistants.blogspot.com.au/</p>	British Antarctic Survey
A2010d		<p>Product: Job Brand: British Antarctic Survey Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2010 Country: GBR More information: Published on designer's blog with other advertisement options. See more at: http://basfieldassistants.blogspot.com.au/</p>	British Antarctic Survey
A2010e		<p>Product: Job Brand: British Antarctic Survey Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2010 Country: GBR More information: Published on designer's blog with other advertisement options. See more at: http://basfieldassistants.blogspot.com.au/</p>	British Antarctic Survey
A2010f		<p>Product: Job Brand: British Antarctic Survey Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2010 Country: GBR More information: Winner of Recruitment Business Award 2010 for Best Copywriting Finalist at The RAD Awards 2011 for Print Advertisement. De Mornay Davies, Johanna. "British Antarctic Survey." Accessed 8 February 2017. www.notanyoldjo.com/British-Antarctic-Survey Figure 8.13</p>	British Antarctic Survey

A2010g	<p>Welcome dreamers, optimists and creators.</p> <p>Some people have a gift to see below the surface. Beyond the hype and the stereotypes. They're the people who look for opportunities where others only find problems. The ones who find rewards when others can only see uncertainty. Today, Detroit stands poised to reward the brave among us. Those willing to invest their time and energy in the unknown. Not because they're risk takers, but because they're visionaries. These are the people wanted most.</p> <p>Join us: Twitter.com/shackledetroit Facebook.com/shackledetroit</p> <p>Learn more: Job Opportunities Real Estate Resources & Guides</p> <p>Share this: Facebook Twitter LinkedIn Google+ Reddit StumbleUpon</p> 	<p>Product: Location (Detroit) Brand: Detroit Agency: Doner Medium: – Date: 2010 Country: USA More information: Created as part of a competition to promote Detroit - Famous Shackleton advert used in advert to attract people to Detroit. Figure 4.12</p>	Detroit
A2010h		<p>Product: Wine Brand: Yalumba Agency: – Medium: Bottle label Date: 2010 Country: AUS More information: Wine named after explorer Mawson. Same company who sponsored his expeditions 100 years earlier. Mawson a national hero in Australia, using his name to sell a product. Heroes. Figure 4.7</p>	Yalumba
A2010i		<p>Product: Cognac Brand: Godet Agency: – Medium: Short Film/ documentary style commercial Date: 2010 Country: – More information: Physical presence (flag on the ice), adventure to Antarctica (journey filmed), metaphor for very cold drinks ("to be drunk Ice Cold"). For more, see: www.antarcticagodet.com Figure 6.6</p>	Godet
A2010j		<p>Product: Beer Brand: Antarctic Nail Ale by Sea Shepherd Agency: Expo Group Medium: Package labelling Date: 2010 Country: AUS More information: Direct use of Antarctica: Antarctic ice was used to make the beer. Supports Sea Shepherd who campaign against whaling in the Southern Ocean. Product from Antarctica. LT. "World's Most Expensive Beer Sold." Last Updated November 2010. Accessed 5 September 2017. http://tailgate365.com/2010/11/worlds-most-expensive-beer-sold Figure 6.8</p>	Nail Ale




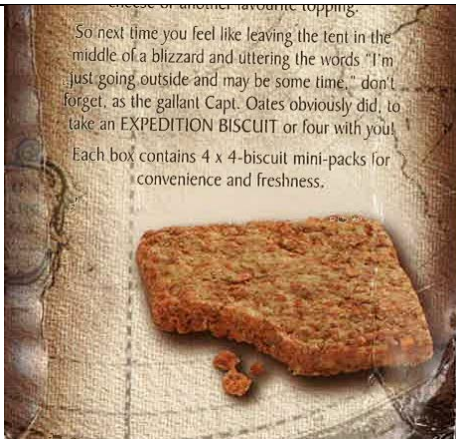
A2010k*		Product: Vehicle Brand: Ford Agency: Dedicate Medium: Print? Date: – Country: SWE More information: Polar landscape and icebreaker illustrate extreme off road capabilities. Arctic scene. Presents a wilderness, final frontier, being conquered by this car	Ford
A2010l*		Product: Camera Brand: Aigo Agency: Ogilvie Medium: – Date: 2010 Country: CHN More information: Conflated with Arctic, end of earth, wide landscape. Theme of Big World. More at: http://adsoftheworld.com/media/print/aigo_big_world_desert	Aigo
A2010m		Product: Travel Brand: Chimu Adventures Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2010s Country: AUS More information: –	Chimu Adventures
A2010n		Product: Public Awareness Brand: Society for the Protection of Animals Agency: – Medium: Online Date: 2010s? Country: AUS More information: –	Society for the Protection of Animals

A2011a	 <p>CLASSIC Escapes Nature & Cultural Journeys for the Discerning Traveler www.classicescapes.com SPOTLIGHT ON ANTARCTICA "The land looks like a jigsaw"</p> <p>Eighteen small expeditions across three weeks give you a unique experience of the continent. The land looks like a jigsaw. The weather is unpredictable. The terrain is unrelenting. The wildlife is extraordinary. The experience is unforgettable. The journey is a lifetime.</p> <p>APOLLO EXPEDITION The Apollo expedition is a unique experience of the continent. The land looks like a jigsaw. The weather is unpredictable. The terrain is unrelenting. The wildlife is extraordinary. The experience is unforgettable. The journey is a lifetime.</p> <p>CONTACT US FOR THE PERFECT PROGRAM. We are happy to make you a brochure and we can contact you by email or phone.</p> <p>SEAN FLORENTINO 0800 427 1241 sean@classicescapes.com</p> <p>NICOLE PORTO 0871 942 2077 nicole@classicescapes.com</p>	<p>Product: Travel Brand: Classic Escapes Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2011 Country: USA? More information:</p>	Classic Escapes
A2011a	 <p>CROSSING THE TOP THE MOST EXTREME PRODUCT DEMONSTRATION OF ALL TIME.</p> <p>SONY BLOGGIE</p>	<p>Product: Voice recorder Brand: Sony Bloggie Agency: – Medium: Online Date: – Country: – More information: –</p>	Sony
A2011b	 <p>HELP SAVE THE FRIDGE</p>	<p>Product: Environmental Consciousness, activism and protection Brand: WWF Agency: – Medium:? Date: 2011? (50 year ads, started 1961) Country: – More information: Celebrating 50 years of WWF: part of a wider campaign to 'save the sandwich (tuna), 'save the kitchen (rainforests) etc. Idea being that we are all connected. More information: http://wwf.panda.org/who_we_are/history/50_years_of_achievements/50th_advertisements/Figure_7.5</p>	WWF
A2012a	 <p>CAPTAIN ROBERT FALCON SCOTT Robert Falcon Scott is synonymous with Antarctica. He was a man of great courage and determination. He was the first to reach the South Pole. He was the first to reach the South Pole. He was the first to reach the South Pole.</p> <p>Scott Blotto Scott Blotto is a man of great courage and determination. He was the first to reach the South Pole. He was the first to reach the South Pole. He was the first to reach the South Pole.</p> <p>THE BRITISH ROYAL NAVY The British Royal Navy is a man of great courage and determination. He was the first to reach the South Pole. He was the first to reach the South Pole. He was the first to reach the South Pole.</p> <p>CAPTAIN R. F. SCOTT - ROYAL NAVY - MILITARY 0800 427 1241 captain@gievesandhawkes.com</p>	<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Gieves and Hawkes Agency: – Medium: Online Date: 2012? Country: – More information: Replica clothing released for centenary of Scott's Antarctic expedition</p>	Gieves and Hawkes





A2012b		Product: Biscuit Brand: Oreo Agency: – Medium: Costume Date: December 2012 Country: USA More information: Kate Upton was in Antarctica for a photo shoot for Sports Illustrated magazine	Oreo
A2012c		Product: Cookie and Brand Name Brand: Oreo Agency: – Medium: Publicity visit to Palmer Station, Antarctica to celebrate 100 years of Oreo Date: December 2012 Country: USA (photo taken in Antarctica, near USA's Palmer Station) More information: Publicity visit to the last continent: Oreo goes to the end of the earth. Also linking in to US Scientific programme by visiting a base	Oreo
A2012d		Product: Freezer Brand: Bosch Agency: DBB Medium: – Date: 2012 Country: GER More information: For more on campaign, see http://www.adeevee.com/2012/10/bosch-freezer-icebergs-print/	Bosch
A2012e		Product: Car Brand: Jeep Agency: – Medium: – Date: 2012 Country: FRA More information: –	Jeep

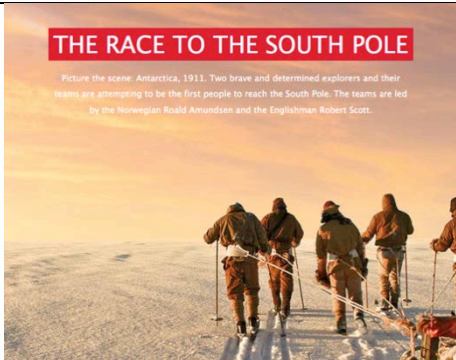


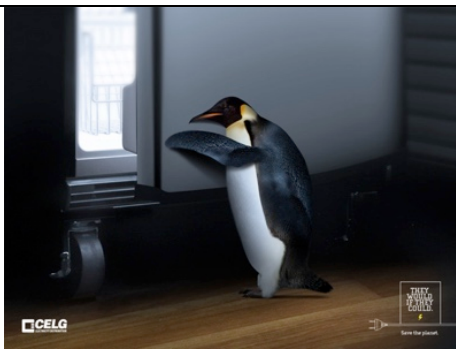
A2012f*		Product: Environmental Image Brand: Shell (parody – not by the oil company) Agency: Yes Men Medium: Online Date: 2012 More information: Published in the dedicated site “Arctic Ready” https://web.archive.org/web/20120719021657/http://arcticready.com/	Yes Men
A2012g		Product: Brand Name Brand: North Face Agency: – Medium: – Date: 2012 Country: – More Information: North Face sponsored trip down to do daring snowboarding in Antarctica and use publicity for their brand. Repo, Tero. “Great Memories from our Antarctica Trip a Year Ago.” Last updated 5 September 2013. Accessed 5 September 2017. www.terorepo.com/post/60354016161/great-memories-from-our-antarctica-trip-a-year	North Face
A2012h		Product: Krill oil Brand: Blackmores Agency: Bullseye Medium: Website Date: 2012 Country: AUS More information: Website uses association with Antarctica to encourage people to live more sustainably. Makes use of environmental badges from NSC and WWF. See more at: http://www.blackmores.com.au/about-blackmores/media-centre/media-releases/Blackmores-and-WWF-Announce-Sustainable-Fish-Oils-Partnership	Blackmores
A2012z		Product: Clothing Brand: Shackleton Agency: – Medium: Online Date: 2012? Country: – More information: Middleton, Simon. “What Would Shackleton Do? New T-shirts.” The Great British Banjo Company. 16 May 2014. Accessed 5 September 2017. www.thegreatbritishbanjoblog.com/2014/05/shackleton.html	Shackleton






A2013a		Product: Jobs Brand: British Antarctic Survey Agency: – Medium: 2013 Date: – Country: USA More information: –	British Antarctic Survey
A2013b		Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: – Date: 2013 Country: USA? More information: Published in “National Geographic” on occasion of 125 th anniversary of magazine	Rolex
A2013c		Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: Online Date: 2013 Country: – More information: Published on occasion of 125 th anniversary of “National Geographic” Magazine	Rolex
A2013d		Product: Fridge GC-P207BTQV Brand: LG Life's Good Agency: Grey, Bangladesh Medium: Print Date: 2013 Country: BGD More information: One of three in the “Antarctic” series	LG

A2013e		Product: Fridge GC-P207BTQV Brand: LG Life's Good Agency: Grey, Bangladesh Medium: Print Date: 2013 Country: BGD More information: One of three in the "Antarctic" series	LG
A2013f		Product: Fridge GC-P207BTQV Brand: LG Life's Good Agency: Grey, Bangladesh Medium: Print Date: 2013 Country: BGD More information: One of three in the "Antarctic" series. Tagline reads "Forever Fresh, Almost"	LG
A2013h		Product: Music Brand: Metallica Agency: - Medium: Online Date: 2013 Country: - More information: The Metallica concert on King George Island was sponsored by Cola Zero. Concerts Metal. "Metallica @ Antarctica." Last updated 8 December 2013. Accessed 5 September 2017. www.concerts-metal.com/concert_-_Metallica_40_Antarctica-6839.html Figure 5.17	Metallica
A2013i		Product: Biscuits Brand: Huntley & Palmers Agency: - Medium: Packaging Date: 2013 Country: GBR More information: Close up image of biscuit package (centenary release)	Huntley & Palmers


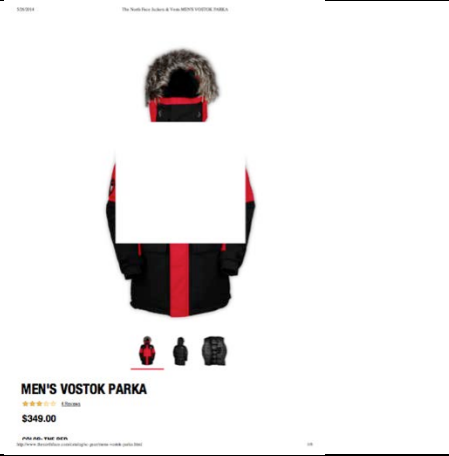

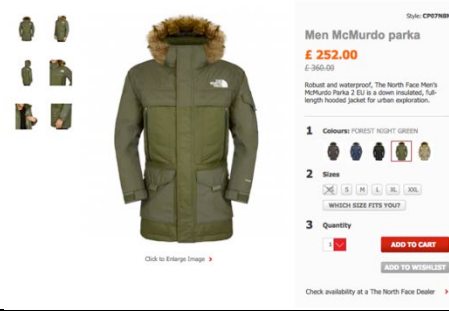
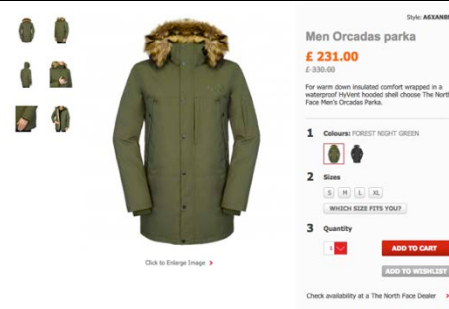
A2013j		Product: Biscuits Brand: Huntley & Palmers Agency: – Medium: Packaging Date: 2013 Country: GBR More information: Biscuits re-released to mark Antarctic centenary	Huntley & Palmers
A2013k		Product: Krill oil Brand: Blackmores Agency: Xander Creative Medium: Print, posters Date: 2012/13? Country: AUS More information: Magazines, bus stops in Australia. Xander Creative. "Blackmores Krill Oil." 2016. Accessed 18 October 2016. www.xandercreative.com.au/?portfolio=blackmore-krill Figure 6.11	Blackmores
A2013l		Product: Krill oil Brand: Blackmores Agency: Xander Creative Medium: Print, posters Date: 2012/13? Country: AUS More information: Association with pristine landscape to boost environmentally friendly message. Shows where krill comes from, but pictures wilderness scene rather than commercial scene: evoke ideas of pristine, nature. Xander Creative. "Blackmores Krill Oil." 2016. Accessed 18 October 2016. www.xandercreative.com.au/?portfolio=blackmore-krill Figure 6.10	Blackmores
A2013m		Product: Single Malt Scotch Whisky Brand: Glenfiddich Agency: Captive Minds Medium: – Date: 2013 Country: GBR More information: Association with 'Walking with the wounded' event: aura of 'as used in Antarctica', idea of heroism. Figure 4.8	Glenfiddich, Walking with the Wounded

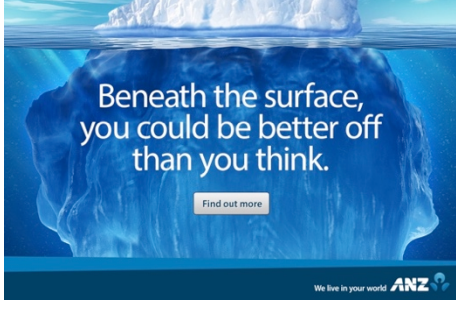


A2013n		<p>Product: Sponsorship by Whisky Company Brand: Glenfiddich Single Malt Scotch Whisky, Walking with the Wounded Agency: Captive Minds Medium: Poster, Subway station wall Date: 2013 Country: GBR More information: Man vs Nature. Pitting self against the ultimate wilderness. Extraordinary landscape, extraordinary people, extraordinary whisky (by association). Modern heroes following in the footsteps of mythical heroes (Scott). Figure 4.9</p>	Glenfiddich, Walking with the Wounded
A2013o		<p>Product: Sponsorship of expedition Brand: Land Rover Agency: – Medium: Banner in Antarctica Date: 2013/14 Country: – More information: Photograph taken in field during expedition. Falcon Scott a patron of the expedition: using family links.</p>	Land Rover
A2013p		<p>Product: Film of a North Face sponsored snowboarding expedition to Antarctica Brand: North Face, Swatch Agency: – Medium: Poster Date: 2013 Country: – More information: North Face and Swatch sponsored trip down to do daring snowboarding in Antarctica and use publicity for their brand.</p>	North Face, Swatch
A2013q		<p>Product: Investment Management Service Brand: Prudential Agency: Inhouse? Medium: TV Commercial Date: 2013 Country: ZAF More information: Still from a film for Prudential</p>	Prudential



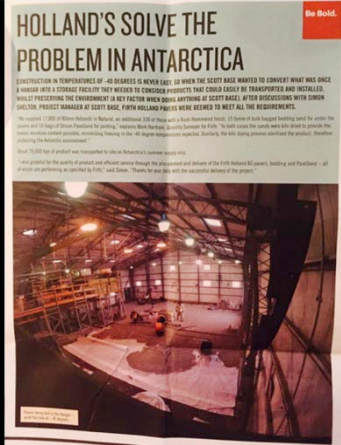

A2013r	 <p>THE RACE TO THE SOUTH POLE</p> <p>Picture the scene: Antarctica, 1911. Two brave and determined explorers and their teams are attempting to be the first people to reach the South Pole. The teams are led by the Norwegian Roald Amundsen and the Englishman Robert Scott.</p>	<p>Product: Investment Brand: Prudential Agency: Lowe Cape Town Medium: Film, Web Date: 2013 Country: ZAF More information: –</p>	Prudential
A2013s	 <p>THE SHACKLETON BANJO VITAL MENTAL MEDICINE BUILT IN BRITAIN BY THE GREAT BRITISH BANJO CO.</p> <p>VITAL MENTAL MEDICINE The Shackleton is the first production banjo to be manufactured in Great Britain in over 60 years. Super lightweight and wonderfully playable, it offers a rich, sweet and earthy tone, with a great dynamic range. • Handmade maple and birch rim with integrated bearing edge • One piece hand finished neck in quarter sawn rock maple • Stuffed headstock, with super-accurate Grover Sta-Tite tuners • Hand fretted, with hand cut nut • Oil finish for superb feel • Weighs just 1.6kg • Six year warranty • Designed and manufactured in England Visit us online: www.shackletonbanjo.com or call 0800 390600</p>	<p>Product: Banjo Brand: The Great British Banjo Company – The Shackleton Agency: Medium: Poster Date: 2013 Country: GBR More information: Association with Shackleton: “We’re naming our new banjo in honour of the Centenary of Sir Ernest Shackleton’s Heroic expedition to the Antarctic – because the banjo that Shackleton took on that trip played a vital role in his epic adventure.” – It was “vital mental medicine.” Figure 4.11</p>	The Great British Banjo Company
A2013t	 <p>METALLICA ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION 2013</p>	<p>Product: Music Brand: Metallica Agency: – Medium: Album Cover Date: 2013 Country: ATA More information: –</p>	Metallica
A2013u	 <p>CELG</p>	<p>Product: Energy Brand: CELG Agency: Amp Propaganda Medium: Print/ Online Date: May 2013 Country: BRA More Information: Print ad entitled “PENGUIN”</p>	CELG
A2013v		<p>Product: Car? Brand: Auto Edizione</p>	Auto Edizione

	 <p>PANDA 4x4 ANTARTICA</p> <p>30th</p> <p>4x4</p> <p>AUTI edizione</p>	<p>Agency: -</p> <p>Medium: -</p> <p>Date: -</p> <p>Country: -</p> <p>More information: Car named for Antarctica</p>	
A2013w	 <p>NEW PANDA 4x4 ANTARTICA EATS SNOW FOR BREAKFAST</p> <p>FIAT PANDA 4x4 SPECIAL 30TH BIRTHDAY EDITION</p> <p>Black & White, Multi-Color System & Silver Paint with 'Heat and Snow' Tones</p> <p>17" Alloy Wheels & 4x4-Combining & ESP with Hill Holder & Power Windows</p> <p>Available with Turbo and Multi-Point engine</p> <p>panda 4x4 antartica</p>	<p>Product: Car</p> <p>Brand: Fiat</p> <p>Agency: -</p> <p>Medium: Print</p> <p>Date: -</p> <p>Country: -</p> <p>More information: Not Antarctic, but a related car advertisement</p>	Fiat
A2013x	 <p>Turn It Off Now</p> <p>One thing that causes global warming is electrical pollution. Save electricity and reduce global warming by turning off lights when you leave a room, and using only the light you need.</p> <p>Stop Stop Global Warming</p>	<p>Product: Saving Energy</p> <p>Brand: -</p> <p>Agency: -</p> <p>Medium: Online</p> <p>Date: 2013</p> <p>Country: -</p> <p>More information: Rizkiyanto, Ferdi. "Global Warming Ad." <i>Ferdi Rizikiyant Blogspot</i>. 2013. Accessed 15 July 2017. www.ferdi-rizkiyanto.blogspot.com.au/2009/06/global-warming-ad.html Referenced in Chapter 6</p>	-
A2014a	 <p>ANTARCTICA</p> <p>Stop Coming Here!</p>	<p>Product: Travel</p> <p>Brand: Satire</p> <p>Agency: -</p> <p>Medium: Film</p> <p>Date: 2014</p> <p>Country: USA</p> <p>More information: From John Oliver's "Last Week Tonight"</p>	-
A2014b	 <p>Are you cut out to be the next Antarctic Apprent-ICE?</p> <p>This opportunity is facilitated by Antarctica New Zealand with the support of Certified Builders Association, BCITO & ITAB</p> <p>NEW ZEALAND'S MOST QUALIFIED BUILDERS</p> <p>Antarctica New Zealand</p> <p>BCITO We're Building People</p> <p>ITAB INDUSTRY TRAINING BUILDING</p> <p>New Zealand's Most Employable Apprentices</p>	<p>Product: Job</p> <p>Brand: Antarctica New Zealand</p> <p>Agency: -</p> <p>Medium: Online (Social Media)</p> <p>Date: 2014?</p> <p>Country: NZL</p> <p>More information: Published (Facebook) 25 Nov by Antarctica New Zealand</p>	Antarctica New Zealand

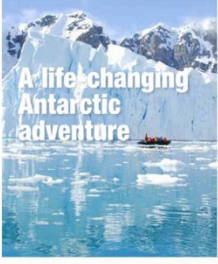
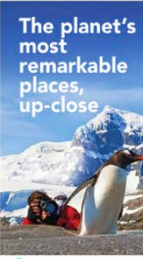


A2014c		<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Earth Sea Sky Agency: – Medium: Poster / Online Date: 2014 Country: NZL More information: Accessed via Earth Sea Sky Facebook Page. Figure 5.12</p>	Earth Sea Sky
A2014d		<p>Product: Tractor Brand: Massey Fergusson Agency: – Medium: Online Date: 2014 Country: – More information: Part of a campaign that saw a Massey Fergusson drive to the South Pole</p>	Massey Fergusson
A2014e		<p>Product: Cereal Brand: Grape Nuts Agency: – Medium: Facebook Banner Date: December 2014 Country: USA More information: www.facebook.com/grapenutscereal Figure 8.9</p>	Grape Nuts
A2014f		<p>Product: Cereal Brand: Grape Nuts Agency: – Medium: Facebook Banner Date: 15 November 2014 Country: USA More information: www.facebook.com/grapenutscereal Figure 8.10</p>	Grape Nuts
A2014g		<p>Product: Paint Brand: Resene Agency: – Medium: Ski Lift Bar Date: 2014 Country: NZL More information: Part of a series that appeared on ski lift bars at Mt Hutt ski field, Canterbury, NZ. Figure 5.1</p>	Resene



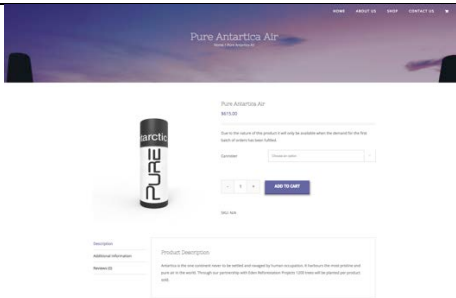

A2014g		Product: Cola Drink Brand: Coca-Cola Zero Agency: – Medium: Online Date: 2013 Country: COL More information: Advertisement for Metallica Antarctic concert, sponsored by Coca-Cola Zero	Coca-Cola
A2014h		Product: Jacket Brand: North Face Agency: – Medium: Webpage with product information Date: 2014 Country: – More information: Named “Vostok” after Russian Antarctic Station	North Face
A2014i		Product: Clothing Brand: Earth Sea Sky Agency: – Medium: Poster / Online Date: 2014? Country: NZL More information: Posted on Facebook 27 August 2014. Figure 5.13.	Earth Sea Sky
A2014j		Product: Jacket Brand: The North Face Agency: – Medium: Online Date: 2014? Country: – More information: Named “McMurdo” after US Antarctic Station	The North Face
A2014k		Product: Jacket Brand: The North Face Agency: – Medium: Online Date: 2014? Country: – More information: Named “Orcadas” after Argentine Antarctic Station	The North Face





A2014l		Product: Bank Brand: ANZ Agency: – Medium: Various (poster, print) Date: 2014? Country: AUS More information:	ANZ
A2014m		Product: Toothfish Brand: – Agency: – Medium: Print Brochure Date: 2014? Country: CHN More information: Image from a brochure about the toothfish industry, featuring “pristine” Antarctic imagery	–
A2014n		Product: Deodorant Brand: HE Deodorant Agency: – Medium: – Date: 2014? Country: AUS More information: Uses Antarctica as a metaphor for coolness and freshness in order to sell deodorant	HE Deodorant
A2015a		Product: Insurance Brand: Geico Agency: – Medium: Film Date: 2015 Country: USA Other information: Available via http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYTouTSf2m4 Figure 4.1	Geico

A2015b		<p>Product: Wine Brand: The Whale Caller Agency: – Medium: Bottle Label Date: 2011 Country: ZAF Other information: –</p>	The Whale Caller
A2015c		<p>Product: Cereal Brand: Grape Nuts Agency: – Medium: Facebook Date: 1 January 2015 Country: USA Other information: –</p>	Grape Nuts
A2015d		<p>Product: Building Brand: Holland's Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2015 Country: NZL Other information: Published in Firth Industries New Zealand staff newsletter. August 2015. Figure 5.11</p>	Holland's
A2015e		<p>Product: Travel Brand: Chimu Adventures Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2015 Country: AUS More information: Published in "Jetsetter" Magazine Spring 2015, p75. Figure 8.2</p>	Chimu Adventures


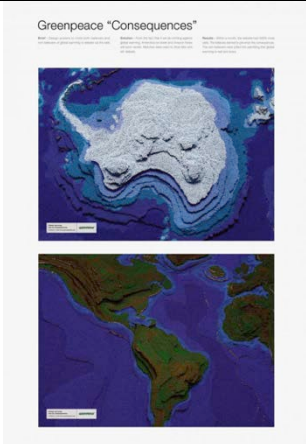


A2015f	 <p>ANTARCTICA ONCE IN A LIFETIME ONCE IN A CENTURY CELEBRATING THE CENTENNIAL OF THE IMPERIAL TRANS-ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION</p>	<p>Product: Travel Brand: Lindblad / National Geographic Agency: – Medium: Brochure Date: 2015 Country: – More information: Travel brochure for print and available online, featuring Antarctica as a destination. Figure 8.3</p>	Lindblad / National Geographic
A2015g	 <p>Awaken your spirit</p> <p>It's the southern continent of South America is rich in cultural and natural diversity. From the towering snow-capped Andes to the ancient city of Machu Picchu, from the peaks of the Andes to the Amazon rainforest, there is something for everyone.</p> <p>A holiday in South America can be enjoyed at any time of the year. The warm hospitality of the people, a rich mix of Spanish, Portuguese and French cultures, welcomes every traveller. The natural landscapes are diverse and vibrant, with the surrounding forests teeming with life. The beauty of the region is enhanced by the warm, golden light of the sun, which creates a magical atmosphere.</p> <p>Just after a visit to South America, you will be in a hurry to return to your home. The beauty of the region is enhanced by the warm, golden light of the sun, which creates a magical atmosphere.</p> <p>Australia's Latin America and Antarctica Travel Experts</p> <p>Enchanting South America \$9490 Experience the beauty of South America with a 14-day cruise. This package includes airfare, accommodation, meals, and a private guide. The cruise will visit the most beautiful parts of South America, including the Amazon rainforest, the Andes, and the Galapagos Islands.</p> <p>Antarctica \$5550 Experience the beauty of Antarctica with a 14-day cruise. This package includes airfare, accommodation, meals, and a private guide. The cruise will visit the most beautiful parts of Antarctica, including the icebergs, the glaciers, and the penguins.</p>	<p>Product: Travel Brand: Chimu Adventures Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2015 Country: AUS More information: Published in RACT "Journeys" Magazine, August 2015, p65</p>	Chimu Adventures
A2015h	 <p>Once-in-a-lifetime experiences</p> <p>It's the southern continent of South America is rich in cultural and natural diversity. From the towering snow-capped Andes to the ancient city of Machu Picchu, from the peaks of the Andes to the Amazon rainforest, there is something for everyone.</p> <p>A holiday in South America can be enjoyed at any time of the year. The warm hospitality of the people, a rich mix of Spanish, Portuguese and French cultures, welcomes every traveller. The natural landscapes are diverse and vibrant, with the surrounding forests teeming with life. The beauty of the region is enhanced by the warm, golden light of the sun, which creates a magical atmosphere.</p> <p>Just after a visit to South America, you will be in a hurry to return to your home. The beauty of the region is enhanced by the warm, golden light of the sun, which creates a magical atmosphere.</p> <p>Unforgettable Cruises & Expeditions</p> <p>Enchanting South America \$9490 Experience the beauty of South America with a 14-day cruise. This package includes airfare, accommodation, meals, and a private guide. The cruise will visit the most beautiful parts of South America, including the Amazon rainforest, the Andes, and the Galapagos Islands.</p> <p>Antarctica \$5550 Experience the beauty of Antarctica with a 14-day cruise. This package includes airfare, accommodation, meals, and a private guide. The cruise will visit the most beautiful parts of Antarctica, including the icebergs, the glaciers, and the penguins.</p>	<p>Product: Travel Brand: Chimu Adventures Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2015 Country: AUS More information: Published in RACT "Journeys" Magazine, August 2015, p66</p>	Chimu Adventures
A2015i	 <p>SMALL SHIP CRUISING THE PERSONAL WAY TO TRAVEL</p> <p>EPIC ANTARCTICA \$5550 Experience the beauty of Antarctica with a 14-day cruise. This package includes airfare, accommodation, meals, and a private guide. The cruise will visit the most beautiful parts of Antarctica, including the icebergs, the glaciers, and the penguins.</p> <p>Galapagos \$1900 Experience the beauty of the Galapagos Islands with a 14-day cruise. This package includes airfare, accommodation, meals, and a private guide. The cruise will visit the most beautiful parts of the Galapagos, including the islands, the beaches, and the wildlife.</p> <p>Patagonia \$1500 Experience the beauty of Patagonia with a 14-day cruise. This package includes airfare, accommodation, meals, and a private guide. The cruise will visit the most beautiful parts of Patagonia, including the mountains, the lakes, and the wildlife.</p>	<p>Product: Travel Brand: Chimu Adventures Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2015 Country: AUS More information: Published in RACT "Journeys" Magazine, December 2015, p65/65</p>	Chimu Adventures





<p>A2015j</p>	 <p>A life-changing Antarctic adventure</p> <p>Antarctica is like no place on earth – it will grab hold of your heart, clear your head-space and intensify each and every conversation.</p> <p>Like looking at life through a magnifying glass, everything is immense in both size and presence, allowing no room in your mind for anything other than now. Though often referred to as the most hostile place on this planet, it couldn't be more peaceful, so alien yet so familiar, so white yet so colourful, so quiet yet so busy, a truly fascinating juxtaposition that can only be understood by those who have been there.</p> <p>Due to the life-changing nature of Antarctic journeys, Chimu Adventures saw it as the perfect location for their next exclusive 'Adventure with a cause', where they and their guests can make a difference to more than just those who travel with them. A very simple way to give back is simply by asking people thinking of travelling to Antarctica to join the exclusive journey aptly named Pinkartica, where proceeds from the南北 sold will directly benefit the McGrath Foundation.</p> <p>The McGrath Foundation's mission is to place breast care nurses in communities right across Australia and to increase breast awareness in young Australians. It is not cheap to place these nurses and the costs to maintain the service is ongoing.</p> <p>Everyone who travels to Antarctica returns with a greater respect for the environment – and travellers with Chimu are also helping families in need during difficult times of their lives. In this way Chimu Adventures are making a difference. Join Chimu and be one of these unique travellers.</p> <p>For more information contact your nearest RACT Travel office or call 1300 368 111.</p>  <p>Pinkartica Join this extraordinary 12 day journey to Antarctica supporting the McGrath Foundation. With special guests Tracy Bevan and Ken Bone Departs Ushuaia, Argentina 18 November 2015 From US\$4850* per person, twin share.</p> <p>TRAVEL by RACT</p>	<p>Product: Travel Brand: Chimu Adventures Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2015 Country: AUS More information: Published in RACT "Journeys" Magazine, February 2015, p67 Figure 8.11</p>	<p>Chimu Adventures</p>
<p>A2015k</p>	 <p>The planet's most remarkable places, up-close</p> <p>Lindblad National Geographic expedition is arguably the most exhilarating adventure travel experience you'll ever have. Travellers benefit from a long heritage stretching back to Lars Eric Lindblad, the pioneer of expedition travel, who was the first person to take citizen explorers to places where only scientists had gone, including Galapagos and Antarctica. In the 1960s, Lindblad, now continues this legacy. You'll discover the planet's most remarkable places up-close, accompanied by experts. Lindblad Expeditions provides the opportunity to travel on a fleet of ships to the planet's most extraordinary places and, thanks to the alliance with National Geographic, you have the chance to explore in the company of world-renowned scientists, naturalists and researchers, as well as National Geographic photographers.</p> <p>There are many reasons to want to visit Antarctica – the dazzling history of the Heroic Age of Exploration, the penguins, and the majestic icebergs and glaciers. Lindblad Expeditions-National Geographic has been traversing these waters for over 45 years, bringing with them a solid reputation for safety and experience.</p> <p>Lindblad has created an outstanding suite of exploration tools to enhance every guest's experience, including Zodiacs and a Zodiac deployment system, designed to place you even closer to the remarkable ice formations and wildlife. Lindblad Expeditions also pioneered ice-kayaking from expedition ships to polar waters – imagine kayaking between enormous icebergs, observing wildlife and discovering this spectacular ice playground at your own pace! Lindblad Expeditions-National Geographic also has an on-board specialist on board who is able to dive with a high definition camera and show you the remarkable underside life that exists – it's a truly remarkable experience.</p> <p>Lindblad Expeditions-National Geographic vessels, National Geographic Orion and National Geographic Explorer offer itineraries to Antarctica, South Georgia and the Falkland Islands ranging from 12 to 22 days, departing November through to March in 2016/17, priced from \$16,700* per person.</p> <p>*Taxes apply.</p> <p>For more information, contact RACT Travel on 1300 368 111 or visit your local branch.</p>  <p>MONUMENTAL DINNER PARTY TALK ANTARCTICA ABOARD NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC ORION & NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC EXPLORER</p> <p>Explore with Lindblad Expeditions-National Geographic and discover the remote reaches of the globe. Antarctica is one of the most enthralling adventures on Earth. Uncharted and spectacular. Discover the secrets of Antarctic wildlife, including penguins and orcas, and an entire museum of unusual and magical ice formations during expedition. Itinerary ranges from 12 to 22 days, departing November through to March in 2016/17, priced from \$16,700* per person. Call us to request your brochure.</p> <p>GET RIGHT ROYAL ADVENTURES</p> <p>For further information please call 1300 368 111 or contact your nearest branch.</p> <p>TRAVEL by RACT</p>	<p>Product: Travel Brand: Chimu Adventures Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2015 Country: AUS More information: Published in RACT "Journeys" Magazine, October 2015, p67</p>	<p>Chimu Adventures</p>
<p>A2015l</p>	 <p>we've got history</p> <p>When you wear Earth Sea Sky you're getting four generations of hands-on experience</p> <p>EARTH SEA SKY</p> <p>In 1927 my grandfather Roland, a keen mountaineer, started to make down-filled sleeping bags. 26 years later they were considered so good Hillary and Tenzing used them during their first ascent of Mt Everest.</p> <p>My father Murray joined the family business and was selected as an engineer on the 1957-58 Commonwealth Trans Antarctic expedition. He was part of Sir Edmund Hillary's five man team to drive the first vehicles to the South Pole.</p> <p>Establishing Earth Sea Sky in 1990 continues a unique heritage that has seen our family at the forefront of New Zealand made outdoor clothing and equipment for the past 80 years.</p> <p>Daniel Ellis, Earth Sea Sky, Christchurch.</p>	<p>Product: Clothing Brand: Earth Sea Sky Agency: – Medium: Poster / Online Date: 2014 Country: NZL More information: Accessed via Earth Sea Sky Facebook Page. In store poster 18 November 2015. Mentioned in Chapter 4</p>	<p>Earth Sea Sky</p>





A2016a		<p>Product: Satire</p> <p>Brand: -</p> <p>Agency: Artist: Ferdi Rizkiyanto</p> <p>Medium: Digital Art</p> <p>Date: 2016?</p> <p>Country: IDN</p> <p>More information: -</p>	-
A2016b		<p>Product: Gin</p> <p>Brand: Süd Polaire</p> <p>Agency: -</p> <p>Medium: Print</p> <p>Date: 2016</p> <p>Country: AUS</p> <p>More information: Island 144, 2016, p.3, Figure 6.7</p>	Süd Polaire
A2016c		<p>Product: Air</p> <p>Brand: Pure Antarctic Air</p> <p>Agency: -</p> <p>Medium: Online</p> <p>Date: 2016</p> <p>Country: AUS</p> <p>More information:</p>	Pure Antarctic Air
A2016d		<p>Product: Watch</p> <p>Brand: Blancpain</p> <p>Agency: -</p> <p>Medium: -</p> <p>Date: 2016</p> <p>Country: USA?</p> <p>More information: Published in "National Geographic" August 2016</p>	Blancpain

A2016e		Product: Travel Brand: Homeward Bound Agency: – Medium: – Date: 2016 Country: – More information: –	Homeward Bound
A2016f		Product: Travel Brand: Chimu Adventures Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2016 Country: AUS More information: –	Chimu Adventures
A2017a		Product: T-Shirt Brand: Zazzle Agency: – Medium: T-Shirt Date: 2017 Country: AUS More information: –	Zazzle
A2017b		Product: Airline Brand: Norwegian Air Agency: – Medium: Plane Tail Date: 2017 Country: NOR More information: Tom Crean features on the tail of the plane as an "Irish tail fin hero"	Norwegian Air





A2017c	 <p>Picture yourself here?</p> <p>Work and live in Antarctica</p> <p>Now recruiting for electronics, chefs, carpenters, plumbers, diesel mechanics, communications officers, plant operators, aircraft support and other professional and support roles.</p> <p>jobs.antarctica.gov.au</p>	<p>Product: Job Advert Brand: Australian Antarctic Division Agency: – Medium: Print Date: 2017 Country: AUS More information: Published in Virgin Airline's "Voyeur" Magazine January 2017 p77. Figure 8.12</p>	Australian Antarctic Division
A2017d	 <p>Picture yourself here?</p> <p>jobs.antarctica.gov.au</p> <p>Antarctic Division @AusAntarctic · Jan 27 Last day! Applications for #jobs supporting Australia's 2017-18 #Antarctic program close today 5.00pm AEDT. jobs.antarctica.gov.au</p>	<p>Product: Job Brand: Australian Antarctic Division Agency: – Medium: Online (Social Media) Date: 2017 Country: AUS More information: Published on twitter. Screen Shot 2017-02-07 at 11.31.03 AM</p>	Australian Antarctic Division
A2017e	 <p>COMMS + IT</p> <p>jobs.antarctica.gov.au</p> <p>Australian Antarctic Division Apply now for jobs supporting Australia's 2017-18 Antarctic program http://jobs.antarctica.gov.au/</p>	<p>Product: Job Brand: Australian Antarctic Division Agency: – Medium: Online (Social Media) Date: 6 Jan 2017 Country: AUS More information: Published (Facebook) 25 Nov by Australian Antarctic Division</p>	Australian Antarctic Division
A2017f	 <p>SHACKLETON FOUNDATION</p> <p>My Antarctic</p> <p>Everyone has an Antarctic. What's yours?</p>	<p>Product: Foundation Brand: Shackleton Foundation Agency: – Medium: Online (Web banner) Date: 2017 Country: – More information: Screenshot from Shackleton Foundation Website 2016-11-16 at 12.22.26 PM Figure 8.8</p>	Shackleton Foundation
A2017g	 <p>Cruise Antarctica Inspired Journeys</p> <p>HOME ABOUT CRUISE ANTARCTICA LIFE ON BOARD CRUISE SHIPS REVIEWS</p> <p>In The Wake Of Mawson</p> <p>THE CRUISE ANTARCTICA TEAM on August 11, 2016 at 11:57 am</p> <p>IN THE WAKE OF MAWSON</p> <p>Explore East Antarctica on a 26 day expedition cruise from Hobart from US\$17,880</p>	<p>Product: Travel Brand: Cruise Antarctica Agency: – Medium: Online Date: 2017? Country: – More information: Screenshot from "Cruise Antarctica" site re Wake of Mawson voyage 2017-02-02 at 11.57.05 AM</p>	Cruise Antarctica

AXd		Product: Environmental Campaign Brand: WWF Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – Other information: Photograph by Simon Harsents – features “ghost” penguins	WWF
AXe		Product: Idea: consequences of human activity on natural environment Brand: Greenpeace Agency: – Medium: poster/ print? Date: – Country: – How Antarctica is used: Suggestion of melting – links between Antarctica and the rest of the world	Greenpeace
AXf		Product: Martini? Brand: – Agency: – Medium: Postcard Date: ? Country: – More Information: Postcard with striking imagery, origins unknown.	?
AXg		Product: Fridge Brand: Siemens Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – More information: Stock image of ice as a backdrop as symbol of ultimate cold: ‘one of the most energy efficient fridge freezers in the world. That’s because it’s a Siemens’ Also raises environmental issues: ‘one of the most energy efficient...’ More at http://www.dialogues.org.nz/2010/index.php?/06/judith-williamson	Siemens

AXh		<p>Product: Paint Brand: Nippon Agency: – Medium: label? Date: – Country: AUS More information: Ultimate in 'white' – Antarctic backdrop used to illustrate range of white paints. Also environmental angle: 'we provide a choice of paint formulations to help reduce VOC emissions. For more information on our environmental policy, please visit www.nipponpaint.com.au'</p>	Nippon
AXi		<p>Product: Environmental Image Brand: Total Energy Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: – Country: – More information: Found at http://www.dialogues.org.nz/2010/index.php?/06/judith-williamson/</p>	Total
AXk		<p>Product: Binoculars Brand: Carl Zeiss Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: 1930? Country: USA More information: Association with Byrd: 'as used in the Antarctic.' Referenced in Introduction.</p>	Carl Zeiss
AXl		<p>Product: Travel Brand: GAP Adventures Agency: – Medium: Print? Date: – Country: – More information: Two people emulating penguin feeding system: clue is the poster in the far left hand side. Promotes a company that offers Antarctic travel</p>	GAP Adventures

AXm		<p>Product: Wristwatch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: Print advert Date: – Country: – More information: Features Vincent Massif: If you were climbing here tomorrow, you'd wear a Rolex, Links to other Rolex advertisements that use Antarctica and other extreme environments</p>	Rolex
AXn		<p>Product: Beer Brand: Guinness Agency: – Medium: TV advert Date: – Country: GBR/ IRL? More information: TV spot. Tom Crean hiking through tough snowy landscape, black and white footage, quotes photos by Ponting (elliptical ice cave mouth), sees foaming Guinness in the blowing snow, flash-forward to the South Pole Inn in 1927 - gets the energy to carry on. Tagline: Believe Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eXf93CEI4t0</p>	Guinness
AXo		<p>Product: Table Salt Brand: Cerebos Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – More information: To show ends of the world: opposite of the North Cape. Salt "is used in all parts of the world", Antarctica represents the South. Ship stuck in pack ice, men sledging with dogs: remote conditions: typical heroic era imagery. Antarctica stands for the South: a whole segment of the world. Cerebos used in far flung places, one of which is Antarctica</p>	Cerebos
AXp		<p>Product: Krill Oil Brand: Cardiosterol Agency: – Medium: Online advertisement Date: – Country: – More information: Image of Antarctic above product name: Antarctica is where product comes from, also connotations of wilderness, purity</p>	Cardiosterol

AXq		Product: Krill Oil Brand: Nature's Aid Agency: – Medium: Product packaging Date: – Country: – More information: Krill oil product package featuring large image of Antarctica – themes of sustainability: “sustainably sourced” and pure, natural environment	Nature's Aid
AXr		Product: Skin cream Brand: LJH Leejiham Agency: – Medium: Poster/ Print Date: – Country: USA? More information: Links to use of microorganism from an Antarctic glacier. Main ingredient = Psuedoalteromonas Antarctica. Penguins and iceberg. Connections to bioprospecting, freshness, focus on LACK of parabens, oils etc.	LJH Leejiham
AXs		Product: Skin cream Brand: LJH Leejiham Agency: – Medium: Poster/ Print Date: – Country: KOR More information: Links to use of microorganism from an Antarctic glacier. Main ingredient = Psuedoalteromonas Antarctica. Penguins and iceberg. Connections to bioprospecting, freshness, focus on LACK of parabens, oils etc.	LJH Leejiham
AXt		Product: Laundry powder Brand: Total Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – More information: Advertisement for a cold wash employing cold weather	Total

AXu		Product: Medicine Brand: Tabloid Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – More information: –	Tabloid
AXv		Product: Medicine Brand: Tabloid Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – More information: Antarctica used as end of the world – medicine works everywhere, even extreme environments	Tabloid
AXw		Product: – Brand: Glacier Refrigerators Agency: – Medium: Print Date: – Country: – More information: Relevant to recent refrigerator advertisements. Dates to later 1800s / early 1900s	–
AXx		Product: – Brand: – Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – More information: Promotional poster relating to Byrd's Antarctic flights	–

AXy		Product: Watch Brand: Rolex Agency: – Medium: – Date: – Country: – More information: Published in “National Geographic” Magazine	Rolex
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Appendix prepared to accompany the PhD Thesis:

“Brand Antarctica: Selling Representations of the South from the ‘Heroic Era’ to the Present”

Hanne Elliot Fønss Nielsen
September 2017